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THE

PICTURE OF INDIA;

GEOGRAPHICAL,

HISTORICAL & DESCRIPTIVE.

BY ROBERT MUDIE

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THE

PICTURE OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY.

TAJ MAHAL.

OLD age commands veneration, for countries as well as for human beings; and an interest is felt for the memorials of races that have long ceased to exist, more keen and more exquisite than for any monuments which do not involve a reference to the human race. When India is

the subject, this feeling is deepened by the consideration that a knowledge of the past is necessary for a proper explanation of the present; for then, though generation after generation is gone, the people are still substantially the same.

As is the case with the early history of all nations, that of the Hindûs is far from satisfactory. It comes to us only in occasional glimmers, and it is so enveloped in the mist of time, and the still more impenetrable darkness of fable, that we are in a great measure left to conjecture as to the facts, and more so as to the dates. One point seems, however, to be ascertained, by the concurrent testimony of the ancient traditions and records, and by some circumstances that are yet existing—and that is, that though we could trace the history of the present native population of India clearly and satisfactorily to its origin, we should not thereby reach the aborigines,—the people by whom the country was first inhabited. We have evidence, as clear as can, perhaps, be obtained upon such a subject, that the ancestors of the present race, observing probably the same customs, and having the same degree of civilization, inhabited the country two thousand years before the commencement of the Christian era. But even then we find them

as a people that had come from another country, and not as native on the soil.

It is a singular fact, that nowhere upon the face of the earth, and at no period of human history, have a people been met with, enjoying almost any degree of civilization, and having records, either oral or traditional, whose traditions or records do not contain traces of migration; and that wherever we are enabled to say that man is in an original locality, we are enabled to say so only because his manners are too rude, and his memory too short for enabling him to contradict us. Turn to whatever region of the world we may, the civilized man has always been a traveller; and he alone is a native who is unable to tell us of his migration. What seems singular too, those civilized and migratory races, so far as we can rely upon their accounts, appear to have all proceeded from nearly the same place: the races that have swept each other in succession westward over Europe, the Mexicans in America, the Moors in Africa, the Hindûs in India, and the Malays in the Eastern Islands, have all proceeded from central Asia. Though these "travelled" races, as we may term them, have considerable, and even very great differences, the points in which they agree are fully as singular. They have in every age and country been men, not

only teachable, but in so far taught. They have never, so far as we are able to trace, been contented to pick up their subsistence from the spontaneous produce of the earth, or the wild animals of the chase: neither has war against animated nature been their only or even their chief trade. They have always been cultivators of plants, have had animals, of some kind or other, in a domestic state; and they have had some knowledge of the arts of building, manufacturing clothes and utensils, and have possessed some knowledge of the metals. Corn and cultivated fruits, such as we are acquainted with in Europe, have accompanied their march, and have not been found in places where we are unable to suppose that they have visited. The vegetation which they have thus scattered along with them, though modified by climate and culture, much resembles that which is still to be found in the valleys among the Hindû Cosh. The vine, the apple, the mulberry, and most of the stone-fruits that are improved by culture, have been traced there; and it is very probable that more careful examinations will increase the number. In that country, too, oats are found in a wild state.

Who or what these people may have driven before them toward the extreme north and west, we have no means of ascertaining, because,

at the most distant period of which we have any record, they were driving each other. But to the south we have evidence that they drove before them a race, or races, that were mentally much inferior, and who were physically formed for existing in different climates. This is not the place, neither have we yet sufficient data, for discussing the question as to whether the negroes of Africa, and the negroes of the Pacific, including among the latter the natives of Australia, be the same race. But they are anterior to the others; and the peculiar texture of their hair alone shews, that they are naturally better defended against the perpendicular action of the sun, than the migratory people. In their dispositions they are more ferocious than the others,—probably not capable of the same length and implacability of hatred, which, though far from an agreeable proof, yet is a proof of intellect, but more the victims of momentary impulse and passion. This appears to be the cause, or at least one of the causes, of their subjugation, or rather their retiring before their invaders. Unless when there is reason to suppose that they have acquired it of strangers, this race appears to have had no knowledge of the metals, or of that rule and subjection which make men formidable as a nation or state. They have

never had any tradition either about their own origin, or about that of the world; memory has been chiefly confined to the individual; they have had no science of any kind, no record, and no alphabet; and they have hardly left any monument. In short, they appear to have been, and where we meet with them in situations where no example has been set them, they appear to be still, a people destitute of the elements of progressive improvement; and had the world been inhabited only by them, it would have been without a history.

The migratory people, on the other hand, have always had some sort of government, something by means of which they could act in concert, either for subsistence or for war. Even in the earliest times, and the rudest states, there have been chiefs, sometimes personal in the individual, but more generally hereditary; they have always had a history of some kind or other; they have had some means of record, and they have left some memorials behind them, even though as rude as the *dohm ringr*, where the ancient people of this country met in judgment, or the inclosures of stones, in which they used to collect at their beacon fires, in times of alarm, and the accidental fusion of which, by the potass of the former wood fire, and the heat of the

subsequent one, has wasted such a world of ink among the learned—in trifles.

One coincidence is very remarkable, and the many versions that there are of it, while they render the details puzzling and inexplicable, are confirmations of the general truth: they show that it must have been ancient among many races; and that is, a common event, and a common ancestor—a deluge, and a Noah. Egyptian, Greek, and Hindû, all tend to confirm some such catastrophe as that recorded in the book of Genesis; and though they all differ in the details, they agree in representing Noah, or Bacchus, or Meru, or whatever name they may give him, as a planter of vines, and a cultivator of the earth. The means of his escape from the deluge, or rather the warning given of it, is whimsical, as stated in the *Agni Pûrana*, compared with the account given in the book of Genesis. The fish that fell into his hand, the size that it grew to, and the horn on the fish that supported the ark, are all fabulous; but the following words are remarkable:—"Meru, with his sons and their women, and the wise men, and with them the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel (which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish), and were preserved."

Though those fabulous accounts of a general

deluge are of comparatively little value in themselves, they are valuable as confirmations of the truth of Scripture history; and prove that mankind must have had a common origin, and a common history in the early stages of the world. The account of the deluge given in the *Pûrana* must have in part been taken from that in the Bible, and have had the fabulous additions made to it, as appeared best to suit the superstitious purposes of the users. It is not to be supposed that any of those fabulous accounts should be in accordance with the conclusions that would be arrived at by an examination of natural appearances, because it appears to be the general spirit of the Hindû mythology to stand as much opposed to nature as possible. That is found in the idols of the Hindûs, as well as in their fables. It is curious to contrast the statues of their gods with those of the Greeks. The latter were out of human nature as well as the former; but they were human nature improved, as we are accustomed to say, by ideal beauty. The idols of the Hindûs are, on the other hand, almost invariably, personifications of the ludicrous. The gods themselves being such, the account of the deluge need excite no wonder.

It is not, however, to discuss the nature, extent, and origin of the deluge, that this

subject has been alluded to: it is only to shew that the Hindûs, upon grounds that we cannot very well question, have an antiquity far "above all Greek, above all Roman name,"—though in their origin, as well as in their traditions, they may be connected with those people.

This Meru, who is also styled the "Son of the Sun," (the title also given to the Menes of the Egyptians,) and whose abode and holy mountain, they place to the westward of Cabul, probably near Bamian, where the excavated dwellings and statues are very remarkable, was the founder and lawgiver of India; but when he flourished, or how far his sway extended, or at what future time his successors or descendants reached the valley of the Ganges, the Deccan, Cape Comorin, or even crossed the Indus, we are in as complete ignorance as we are of that at which Rama, with his auxiliary apes, subjugated Ceylon. Bûdha, the son of Meru, who has, perhaps, more worshippers than any other man ever had, is set down as the founder of the Oude, and the ancestor of Rama; and there are pedigrees of princes and families, longer than any thing to be met with in Wales, or even in Sir Thomas Urquhart's genealogy of his clan; but these are understood and explained only by the learned pundits,—by the most learned of them; and therefore they do

not come within the scope of popular history. The gist of the whole matter is, that the race appears to have at first come from, if not from beyond, the Hindû Cosh, and divided, at a pretty early part of their history, into two races, the one in the east worshipping Bûhda, and that in the west following the Brahminical practice. These seem also to have blended together; but of their progress over the country, and the manners of the people whom they found there, and of whom there are still said to be traces in the wilder parts of the country, we have no information upon which we can rely. The only general fact upon which we can positively decide, is, that among the native princes and chiefs, whether men or gods, there never has been any want of cruelty, or much that could be construed into a regard for human life.

There are said to have been, in those very early days, ten kingdoms in India, the inhabitants of all of which spoke different languages; and that those kingdoms were five and five, composed of people called by two general names, the one of which occupied the peninsular part of India, as far north as the hills on the right of the Nerbudda, and the other India Proper. Draviras was the name given to the southern people, and Gures to the northern. The kingdoms in the south were Gujerat, Candeish, to the south

of it, and Muru (or the Mahratta country), in the centre of the Deccan; Toulangana, between the Godavery and Krishna, and Karnatra, on the south. The kingdoms of the Gaurs are said to have Utcala, occupying the coast of the Bay of Bengal, from the mouth of the Godavery to Balasore, and having the jungle and wild country on the west; Bengala, which corresponded with modern Bengal, though it probably extended farther up the valley; Tirhut occupied the left bank of the Ganges, from the river to the Nepâl Hills, all the way from the river Cosi to the Gunduck; Kanyacubja occupied the remainder of the Valley of the Ganges, with the mountainous part, as far as Cachmere; and Sereswati occupied the Punjaub and country on the Indus, as far the Gulf of Cutch. How long those kingdoms may have remained independent, or by what means they were changed and obliterated, has not been recorded. The one in the north, where the people were, and are still, more active than they are in the south, is likely to have been the native one that interfered the most with the others; and as the invader of Ceylon was one of the sovereigns of it, it is by no means improbable that he extended his conquests along the whole eastern side, to opposite that island.

From the same native accounts, we learn

that there was another combination among the Indian powers, by the forming of four great kingdoms, at a period probably as early as the calling of Abraham. The Prachii, or eastern people, occupied the valley of the Ganges; the Deccan formed a second kingdom; the countries on the Indus, a third; and the country south of the Krishna, the fourth.

Those kingdoms were of very ancient date; for they must, according to our chronology, have terminated during the time when the Jews were governed by the Judges, that is, nearly fourteen hundred years before the birth of Christ.

If we can trust the records of the Hindû astronomical observations—and astronomy, from the facility with which one can calculate backwards, and determine what actually has been, in as far as the solar system is concerned, is not a very safe chronological instrument in the hands of a priesthood, who rest so much upon antiquity as that of India—but if we were to rest the date upon that foundation, according to the poem or romance of the Mahabharat, the great change was made in the worship of the country by Bali Rama and Krishna, who vanquishing Jara Sandha, the King of Bahar, put him to death in the most cruel manner, and established by force the worship of Vishnû, and nearly extinguished the ancient adoration of Siva.

There are traces of Bali Rama from the banks of the Ganges to the Carnatic, and the river Krishna proves the extent to which his brother must have penetrated, so that they must have overrun the greater part of India; and this must have been at a time anterior to the excavation of the cave temples that are found in many parts of India; for though some of these be exclusively dedicated to Siva, or Mahadeva, and others to Bûhda, yet many of them contain the additions made to the Pantheon by the two brothers and their followers. It is, therefore, at least probable that the kingdoms of India were thus overrun by domestic conquest, before any foreigner tried the experiment. But though we are told of extensive kingdoms, and sounding names of conquest, we know that, in those places where the ancient manners remain with the least foreign alteration, as among the Rajpoots in Ajmeer, the system of society is feudal, and the detached rajas exercise in their own territories all the powers of sovereignty. The antiquity, if not the authenticity of these matters, is proved by the fact, that none of the invasions by foreign powers, some of which were, at a very early period, noticed in the accounts of them, and those occurrences, though temporary, must have made as much noise at the time as the descent of Meru himself.

The first of those invasions was that by Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, probably about a hundred years after the wars of Bali Rama and Krishna. It is true that we want dates in the case of Sesostris, as well as in that of the heroes of the Mahabharat. But the want of a date, though it may prove the want of a satisfactory chronology, is no argument whatever against an occurrence; and we have no more reason to doubt the invasion of India by the Egyptian, than we would have to doubt the visit of an island by any navigator, of whom the natives could not speak as to days and dates. The probability is, from the period as well as the similarity of the names, that Sesostris was the Shisbak, king of Egypt, who, in 972, A. C., according to our era, came against India with so powerful a host, among whom were the Ethiopians, and carried away much of the riches with which Solomon had adorned the temples, before he went to India. Sesostris is reported to have conducted his army across Africa, all the way to the Atlantic, which would give him the means of having the Ethiopians and Lybians in his train. But though actually, as is reported, he did penetrate to the Ganges, and as far as the Chinese sea, there is no memorial of his conquest.

The next invasion of India, is within the

limits of dated history; and though we cannot be certain for a few years, it was in the beginning of the fifth century before Christ. Less ambitious, but more avaricious, than Sesostris (who, by the bye, seems to have had some resemblance to Bonaparte), the Persian, Darius Hystaspes, sent a messenger to ascertain the wealth of India before he marched thither. The representation was favourable; and India was invaded, and part of the princes of the Punjaub became tributaries. Indeed it appears, that, about this time, if not earlier, the eastern people had been invaded by their neighbours on the other side. The wealth of their country, and their comparative feebleness, had tempted the daring mountainers of the Himalaya; and thus the princes in the east and the west were prevented from assisting each other, each having to defend his own position. This dominion of the Persians, over a part of India, continued for nearly two hundred years; but during the latter part of that period, when troubles had begun to overtake the Persian monarchs, it was merely nominal.

In the year A. C. 328, Alexander made his incursion into India, for the avowed purpose of compelling the kings or rajas to pay the tribute which had been imposed by Darius. That conqueror had intended not merely to reach the

Ganges, as Sesostris had done, but to conquer the country on the banks of that river. But though he was successful at the commencement, the mutiny of his troops upon the banks of the Beyah, compelled him to desist. When Alexander withdrew, the natives set about corrupting the troops that he left behind, by encouraging them in all manner of luxury and excess; and the activity of a native prince conspired with that in extinguishing the power which had been established in the Punjaub by the Persians. That prince was Chandra Gupta, the illegitimate son of the lunar sovereign of Bahar, who succeeded in seating himself upon the throne of the Prachii, and though he acted with cruelty to his own family, was so brave, that when, about thirty years after the invasion by Alexander, Seleucus came to subdue India, he contented himself with making a son-in-law of Chandra Gupta, on condition of annually receiving fifty elephants. The last invasion into India by the successors of Alexander was by Antiochus, about one hundred and twenty years before the Christian era, and he also was appeased with elephants and money.

But those visits of the Persians and Greeks were made only to the northern parts of India. The district between the desert and the Vindhaya

hills was in the possession of the Rajpoot princes; the kingdom of Bijanagur probably remained undisturbed in the south; and the Deccan, enclosed by its hills and its jungles, consisted of independent states, composed probably of the same Maharattas, whose descendants are its chief inhabitants at the present time, deriving their name, perhaps, from the Maharajas or great lords, whom they were under.

As is generally the case with dynasties, that of Bali Rama waxed more and more feeble on the throne of Bahar. With changes of race, however, there were changes of fortune; and Sipnea, who reigned during the middle of the second century, has left evidence, that if he did not possess, he claimed the greater part of India; as there are documents granted by him still extant, in which he designates himself monarch of "the three shores." Probably something like a general sovereignty continued for about five hundred years, or till the middle of the seventh century, as we have at that time Paloman closing a brilliant career of victory by drowning himself in a sacred stream, and doing both in imitation of his grandfather. About this time, the Punjaub, whose princes do not appear to have learned bravery from their western invaders, was ravaged by the Huns,

who are said to have met with hardly any resistance. The country on the left bank of the Indus from Cachmere to the desert of Ajmeer, was at that time under a Hindû prince, who was in alliance with those to the south and east of him; and when the Kaliph Omar attempted to seize the country he did not succeed, though the Mahomedans soon after got possession of the country on the lower Indus.

An enemy was preparing, however, whose impression upon the country was to be much greater than that of any that had occurred between his time and that of Meru. The governor of Khorassan, having rebelled against his master the king of Buckharia, seated himself upon the throne of Ghizni, laid the foundation of the Ghazana power, and was to be the means of sending to a considerable portion of India a conqueror from, probably, the very place whence Meru had issued. The second of the sovereigns of Ghizni began to ravage the country, but it was not till the reign of the third that the conquest was begun.

Mahmoud mounted the throne of Ghizni in A. D. 998, as an independent prince, though acknowledging the Caliph; and having first extended his conquests northwards across the mountains, he ultimately, in the year 1001, penetrated so far into the Punjaub as totally to

defeat the king of Lahore. Two years afterwards he defeated the kings of Mûltan and Lahore in one battle; but was called off to resist an invasion of the Tartars into his other territories, and he left the charge of his affairs in India to a converted Hindû. No sooner was Mahmoud gone than the Hindû reconverted himself, and joined his own countrymen; but Mahmoud defeated them on his return, and in 1011, marched and plundered as far as the city of Delhi. The Sultan, for such was the title of Mahmoud, (and he was the first that bore it,) extended his conquests over the greater part of India Proper, collecting vast quantities of riches, and waging hostility with both men and idols, from the contents of one of which latter, defended with more determination than the Hindûs usually displayed, he is said to have got immense wealth. After reigning with triumph, and with some of the better qualities of a monarch, for thirty years, Mahmoud died at Ghizni, in 1028.

But the wealth which the sultan of Ghizni had collected to his capital by his repeated spoliations of India, was not destined to remain long in the hands of his race. It was a time of great commotion among the inhabitants of central Asia, various hordes of whom were continually making inroads into the kingdom of

Ghazna. Of the mountain races, one of the most valorous and formidable was the Gaurs, or mountaineers of the western and central parts of the Hindû Cosh. These people had never been subdued, even by the Persians when in the zenith of their power; and they at last became so formidable that they dethroned the successor of Mahmoud, one hundred and thirty years after the death of that sultan, and thereby not only paved the way for a continued sway over India, but for the elevation of a Mahomedan to the throne of Delhi.

The Indian provinces remained a little longer in the hands of the dynasty of Mahmoud than those on the right of the Indus; but the Gaurs gained possession of them in 1184; and, in ten years after, they founded the Afghan Empire in India. There is some romance in that part of Indian history. Jye Chandra, king of Canoge, unjustly held the office of supreme ruler and high-priest, the legal heir being Pithuara, the young king of Delhi, who was formidable for his valour and his virtue. A beautiful damsel had been presented to Jye Chandra by the king of Ceylon, and adopted by him as his daughter. This lady had been promised in marriage; but having seen the gallant Pithuara, she became enamoured of him, obstinately refused to marry the other,

and was shut up by her adopting father for the refusal. The high-spirited Pithuara had incurred the hatred and meditated revenge of Jye Chandra, because he had disdained to officiate under him at a solemn ceremony, upon the feeling that he was the true high-priest himself. That a lady should be immured for love of him was too much for a high-souled prince. He sent a bard to sing at an entertainment given by Jye Chandra, while himself, with a train of chosen followers, waited upon the bard, in disguise. He saw and bore off the lady, though not without a violent scuffle; and the rage of Jye Chandra knew no bounds. He called in the aid of Shahabodien Abul Muzzaffur, who defeated and slew the king of Delhi on the plain of Thanessar, annexed that to the Mahomedan territory, soon defeated Jye Chandra, and thus was monarch of the finest and largest portion of India.

The Mahomedan power was, about this time, divided; and Cuttub, who had originally been a slave, having succeeded to the Indian empire, changed the seat of the government from Lahore to Delhi, and turned his attention to the subjugation of Bahar and Bengal; but he died before either was accomplished. This was the foundation of what is called the Patan dynasty of the Mahomedan emperors of India. Altmush,

the successor of Cuttub, extended the conquest over the whole of India Proper, with the exception of the mountain rajahs in Ajmeer, Malwa, and Gujerat, who have always been a bolder and braver people than the inhabitants of the plains. Altmush is represented as having been different from most Mahomedan conquerors, as he neither harassed the priests nor demolished the temples and idols, as had been the general practice; but his reign was unsettled, on account of the turbulence of the southern mountaineers, as well as by a threatened revolt in some of the provinces upon the Indus, which were still claimed by the sultan of Ghizni.

A new and most formidable enemy now appeared in the person of Genghis Khan, the Mogul, or, rather, perhaps, the Turk. Mahommed Shah, who held the throne of Ghazna, or, rather, perhaps, it should be called Khorassan, which had now become a great empire, imprudently refused, or neglected, to make an apology, as Genghis had demanded, in consequence of the lieutenant of Mahommed having killed some Tartar merchants. The Tartar immediately put his hordes in motion; and Mahommed instantly crossed the mountains to give him battle in the plains of Turkistan. They met; but the sultan, overpowered by

numbers, and, probably, outdone by the daring Genghis, was overthrown with terrible slaughter. The efforts of the sultan to arrest the progress of the victor in the passes of the mountains were unavailing, and he was compelled to flee toward the Caspian, on an island of which he died in the year 1220. The Afghans fought like lions, and the eldest son of the sultan showed himself worthy of a better fate. His prodigies of valour were numerous; and when there was no other alternative left, he dashed into the foaming Indus, in sight of the conquering army, and escaped to India. Thence he returned in a few years; but the fate of the empire was confirmed, and Genghis remained the master and the terror of Asia, from the southern confines of the Punjaub northwards.

The immediate and short-lived successors of Altmush had not been, like that monarch and his predecessor, slaves, who had risen to imperial honours by their own talents; they were feeble; and there were intrigues, during which the Mogul adventurers occasionally ravaged the Punjaub, and once or twice approached the confines of Delhi. The fortunes of the empire were improved, however, by Mahmoud, the son of Altmush, who was called to the throne about the year 1255. He was a man of great vigour and daring, and so independent, that, while he

was kept in prison, during the reign of his predecessors, he scorned to receive any one's assistance, and supported himself by writing books. He was a model of monarchs, as well as of men, and equally astonished the people by the certainty of his victories and his kindness to the vanquished. Nay, even after he was raised to the throne, and engaged in the vigorous exercise of the government, he scorned to be fed out of the public treasury, and continued to maintain himself by the labour of his own hands during a splendid and prosperous reign of five-and-twenty years.

And he was followed by one worthy of being his successor. Having no family, he nominated Balin, a relation of his own, who, like his father, and his father's predecessor, had been bought as a slave. Under Balin, the Mahomedan empire in India was, perhaps, in the zenith of its real glory. If ever so high praise could be given to man, it might be said of Balin the Turk, for he was from Turkistan, that he neither had a vice nor wanted a virtue. He was temperate; he was generous; he was kind; he promoted the useful arts; he repressed tyranny; the fame of his court collected the learned, the wise, and the good, from all quarters of Asia; the unfortunate had a ready asylum in his palace; and yet he displayed all

the dignity and decision necessary for a great monarch—against those who wantonly behaved ill he was severe, and to traitors he was implacable. He and his two sons formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary imperial family upon record. He not only encouraged commerce and the arts, but made every exertion to improve the taste of his people, in their dwellings, their dress, and all their decorations; the divines, philosophers, and poets, had nightly meetings at the house of his eldest son; and those who were eminent in the fine arts, at the house of his youngest.

When Mahomed Shehid, his eldest son, went to Lahore, to assume the vice-royalty of the western provinces, that capital became as renowned for learning as Delhi. But the love of philosophy did not damp the spirit nor blunt the military talents of the prince. Timur, a descendant of Genghis, who ruled the eastern part of the late empire of Khorassan, led a powerful army to the invasion of the Punjaub. The prince left his philosophers, took the field, and defeated the enemy, in a battle in which much skill was shown upon both sides; but pressing too forward and far in the pursuit, he was unfortunately killed, and the emperor died soon after, in his eightieth year.

One of the most singular acts of Balin was a

campaign against a forest. Gang-robbery, which, under the name of *dacoitism*, is still too common in India, was then carried on almost to the very gates of the capital, there being an extensive forest to the south of the city, toward the hills of Ajmeer, in which the depredators could easily elude pursuit. Balin sent an army of hatchet-men against that, and cut it down for an extent of a hundred miles, thereby at once dislodging the robbers, and bringing a great extent of land into cultivation.

But such a state of things was too good for being durable. The other son of Balin being in Bengal, his son, a boy that had been bred in luxury, was placed on the throne. The minister corrupted the young monarch; and though his father hastened to save him, his efforts failed, and the young emperor was murdered after a reign of three years.

That happened in the year 1289, and Feroze, an Afghan of another dignity, got the throne, and appeared anxious to compensate for the way in which he had got it, by an excess of ostentatious lenity afterwards; and though he was a man of abilities, several things occurred in his reign that tended to weaken the empire. The Moguls came, to the number of a hundred thousand, and though the emperor checked them in battle, they retired in military order;

the administration had not its wonted vigour; and he and the greater part of his family were murdered by Alla, his own nephew, a man whose ambition probably accelerated the fall of the empire.

While governor of Oude, under his uncle, Alla had extended his conquests into the Deccan; and, when he had gained the throne by the murder of his uncle, pushed his conquests over the greater part of the peninsula. This was probably the first time that the south of India had been passed over by conquerors, not of some of the forms of the Hindû faith; and the spoil was excessive—Ferishta says, one hundred millions sterling. That is a vast amount, certainly, and may be exaggerated; and yet we are to recollect, that the priests and rajas of that part of India had been amassing treasures from the era of Bali Rama,—that is, for more than two thousand six hundred years, and those of parts of it for a much longer period; and that the west coast of this part of India was that which exchanged its produce for gold. The great productiveness of the soil of India, the small cost at which the people are supported, the division into small states, in which there were few to be enriched but those who kept the palace and the temple; the large portion of the produce given for the use of the

land, the value of Indian commodities in countries farther to the west, and the length of time that the accumulation had been going on, probably tend to make those who form their notion upon European models underrate this accumulated wealth, a good deal more than it is overrated in the glowing language of Ferishta.

Notwithstanding the crimes of which he was guilty for the purpose of raising himself to the throne, the ambition of his character, and the unprovoked plunder that he perpetrated in peninsular India, there were some redeeming points in Alla. He was brave; and, when he obtained the superiority that he sought for, he was just and equitable in the use of it. The activity of his municipal system rendered the country safe; he treated his Hindû and Mahomedan subjects exactly in the same manner; he even projected a new religion which was to unite them; and when the Moguls, who had now begun to hang upon the northern frontier of India, dared to enter his territory, Alla drove them back with great spirit.

But though the Mahomedan Empire of India was more extensive and, probably, better governed under Alla than at any subsequent period, there is no doubt that he was the primary cause of the fall of the Afghan dynasty. The weapons of India are feeble, but its wealth is

invincible—at least *was* so, while there was much with which a plunderer, whether from the west or the north, could be intoxicated. Cafaor, who had been Alla's general in the south, and accumulated much wealth, rebelled, even in the life-time of his master; the spirit of intrigue was rooted among the omrahs or nobles of the empire, and the temptations to the Moguls to take advantage of circumstances were greatly increased. The empire was widely scattered; and south of the central hills the dominion, which had been obtained by plunder, was far from stable. From principle, the Hindû rajahs could not be expected to pay any more deference to the court of Delhi than they could help; and upon the Mahomedan deputies that had been left in some places, want of principle probably had the same effect.

A series of intrigues and excesses followed the death of Alla; and the court soon found that it had become poor, after the accumulation of much wealth. Balin could afford to expend large sums in the direct establishment of manufactures and trade; but, in about a century, his successors were obliged to debase the public money, an event which has, in all ages, been attended with the most dangerous, if not fatal, effects to the state.

Cafaor, after putting out the eyes of the two

elder sons of Alla, enjoyed the regency for five weeks. Mubaric, the third son of Alla, succeeded; but, in less than four years, he and all his sons were butchered by Hassan, the son of a dealer in old clothes, whom Mubaric had raised to the dignity of vizir. The son of the ragman mounted the throne, from which he was almost immediately precipitated by Tuglic, also the son of a slave, but of a slave that had come from the same country as Altmush and Balin. Under him, the imperial crescent again ascended and shone; but, at the end of four years, he was killed by the fall of a wooden house in which he was entertaining the grandson of Balin. His son Mahomet was a conqueror, or rather a plunderer, and again overrun the south of India, which had revolted; but it was too soon after Alla and Cafaor to be very profitable. He would have plunder, however; and, for the purpose of obtaining it, he raised one army for the invasion of the country beyond the Hindû Cosh, and another for that of China. One hundred thousand horse were sent to explore the rout to the latter country; but the Chinese presented an impenetrable frontier there, and the vast array was, on its return, overtaken by the monsoon, and more completely annihilated by the elements than the army of Napoleon on its flight from Moscow. These

expenses led to the depreciation of the currency, by issuing copper coins at a nominal value, and discontent and calamity immediately followed. To heighten the mischief, he ordered the court to be removed from Delhi to Dowlatabad; and the excess of his taxation brought famine upon many of the provinces, and drove numbers of the inhabitants into the woods, from which they issued in bands, and plundered the country.

These troubles in India Proper were accompanied by the loss of the whole of southern India, and the Deccan, except Dowlatabad. The Raja of the Carnatic, Belaldio, consolidated his kingdom on the southern table land; and forming a junction with the Raja of Telingana, his neighbour, on the north-east, expelled the Mahomedans: and, while the emperor was conveying a tooth, that he was obliged to have drawn, to the grave, in the most solemn manner, and erecting a monument over it, Belaldio was erecting another sort of monument for himself, in founding the city of Bijanagur, the most singular in point of situation that is any where to be met with, and the most durable as a ruin (for it is now little better) that is to be met with in India. The place upon which it is built seems as if it had been the battle-field of the gods and the Titans. It is a plain, surrounded and strewed with immense masses of

granite, sometimes so far asunder as to admit of long lines of buildings, and at others so close as to allow only one person to pass. Among these are the remains of the houses and public buildings, and their appearance, even now, impresses one with a more high opinion, both of the taste and the power of the king of Canaria. Every thing has been very neatly done, and yet so strong that it seems as if made to last for ever. Wall or pillar, arch or dome, beam or rafter, all is of granite,—the streets are paved with the same material, in masses from side to side; and the canals and tanks are excavated out of the solid rock. The pieces that have been moved and worked are immense—sometimes fifty feet long, and of corresponding breadth and thickness. The strength of those buildings, the singular way in which they are placed, sometimes under the shadow of the rock, and sometimes perched on the side or the summit, with the richness of the little plains that sometimes occur between the rocks, have a very picturesque appearance, and make one almost regret that Bijanagur should not still be a capital. One of the most public thoroughfares in it is singular, as passing under a magnificent gateway of the native rock.

Even the troops of Mahomet, that he had

sent to quell disturbances in the Deccan, and many of whom were Moguls, set him at defiance, marched into the Deccan, took Dowlatabad, and laid the foundation of the Mogul kingdom in the Deccan. The capital of that kingdom was Colberga, in the Beemah province; and the first sultan was Alla, who was an Afghan, and originally slave to a star-gazing brahmin of Delhi, by whom the future elevation of Alla (then Hassan) was foreseen in the horoscope. Alla, as had uniformly been the case with slave sultans from the Afghan mountains, ruled well and moderately. This took place in the year 1347, and was the foundation of what is called the Brhamenee dynasty, Alla, having taken that addition to his name in compliment to the brahmin who prophesied him to the throne; and as the same brahmin was made lord of the treasury, and had his name coupled with that of Alla in all public documents, the probability is, that he may have done more than merely prophesied. Before the death of Alla, all that part of the Deccan which had formerly been over-run by his namesake was reduced under his sway,—the death of the restless Mahomet, in 1351, having favoured their cause.

Feroze, the nephew and successor of Mahomet, was a prince of very different character;

and had it not been that the conduct of his predecessor, the progress of intrigue, and a disposition on the part of the omrahs to assume sovereign power in their own provinces, and even controul that at Delhi, had shaken the very foundations of the empire, Feroze would have done honour. He was chiefly employed in the erection of public works, of useful, of ornamental, or of charitable character; and the number of those that were erected during his comparatively peaceful reign of thirty-nine years, is almost incredible. But public spirit is far more essential to the greatness and durability of a state, than public works; and while Feroze was digging, building, and beautifying, the Moguls were meditating how they might best invade the empire; and the native Hindûs and governors of the provinces, how they might best throw off the imperial yoke.

Feroze died in 1388, and a scene of assassination and brief reigns followed, the imperial sceptre being completely in the hands of the omrahs; they at war with each other, and the sultan, whoever he might happen to be, a mere tool in their hands. The governor of Bengal became sovereign in every thing but the mere name, and many of those of the other provinces only waited their opportunity to do the same; the Maharattas also appeared in

power—a power which they continued to hold long after the empire had come to an end.

There seems, indeed, to have been at this time a crisis in the whole affairs of Asia. The governments had become so effeminate that they were ready to fall to pieces. There was a man prepared, too, to take advantage of that crisis. This was Timur Bec, the celebrated Timur the Tartar, who overturned all the thrones that Genghis and his descendants had erected from China to the Syrian desert, and overthrew Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks. He bent his course toward India. In the year 1696, a grandson of the Tartar had crossed the Indus, and ravaged part of Mûltan; and in the following year the hoary ruffian himself passed the Hindû Cosh. There were many difficulties to contend with. The people of the mountains were brave, and the mountains themselves were a most formidable barrier; and it is probably only in respect of a historian, that the crossing of the mountains by Timur is not more celebrated than Hannibal's passage of the Alps. The mountaineers fought with great bravery, but they were, at any one point, but as one to a hundred to their enemies; they were vanquished, and as far as that could be done, exterminated; and the Tartar had only to war with the elements and the earth. Un-

skilled in the passes of the mountains, and at deadly strife with those who could have been guides, the number of men, and still more of horses, that perished, by storm, by snow, and by precipice, was very great. A scaffold had to be made for Timur, on which he was lowered down from ledge to ledge, by ropes, sometimes more than two hundred feet at a time. At length he reached the Valley of Cabul, and hastened to cross the Indus at the pass of Attock. His army had heard of the formidable elephants and impenetrable cuirasses of the enemy, and would readily have desisted from the enterprize. But Timur was not to be restrained. Onward they marched. Turning to the south, they pillaged and devastated great part of the Punjaub, in order to relieve Timur's grandson, whom the people had invested in Mûltan; and then they moved on toward Delhi. The city had been prepared for a vigorous resistance, but Timur contrived by stratagem to draw them out into the field. The Sultan Mahomed, or rather his master, the Omrah Ekbal, took the field with forty thousand guards, ten thousand mailed horsemen, and one hundred and twenty elephants, having their tusks armed with poisoned daggers. Timur saw that the elephants were the chief terror to his own army, and therefore he fortified his

front with that at which all animals quail, fire. The elephants were routed: the men fled; and when night came, the Sultan and the Omrah took their way in opposite directions; while Timur, sending a strong escort after the Sultan, entered the city. The Sultan was overtaken by the detachment, and though he effected a farther escape, his two infant sons, and a number of his followers, were destroyed.

Timur laid the city of Delhi under the most severe contributions, and his officers broke into the houses to ascertain what there was left for them in addition; some of the people resisted the injustice; a Tartar or two were killed, and the imperial city was given up to sack and massacre. The temples and palaces were burned; all that could not be conveniently carried off was destroyed, and the streets flowed deep with blood. The Patan Emperors and their Omrahs had committed vast plunders and devastation from the mountains of Sirhind to the shores of the Indian ocean. But this was a fearful retribution, and it came with equal enormity upon those who had formerly been the spoilers, and those who had been the spoiled. Not satisfied with having done for himself so much, and, in as far as the people of Delhi were concerned, so unprovoked cruelty, he would needs add a little more for the honour of the prophet.

So he went to the devotional places, and murdered the Hindû devotees in cold blood. From Hurdwar, he passed along the northern mountains, massacring as he went, till he recrossed the Indus, after a period of not much more than five months.

It does not appear that Timur had any other design in entering India than to plunder the country; and there is no question that that was his object in visiting the holy places. But these had been previously visited by Mahomedans; and thus, though the carnage that he committed among the worshippers was great, he did not meet with much wealth, except what he found in Delhi. There was a cause indeed that arrested his progress, before he had wasted the country to the extent that he probably intended. No sooner had Timur crossed the mountains than Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, began to stir up disturbances in the western part of his dominions. Had not that arrested his career, there is no saying how far he might have proceeded, or whether he might or might not have retained the country, and carried into the south the same cruelties that he perpetrated in the north. As it was, he obtained only the Punjaub.

Timur, besides a name not likely soon to be forgotten, left in India something like the sha-

dow of authority. The coin was stamped in his name, and prayers were read for him in the mosques; but these seem to have been only clokes for the conduct of the omrahs, who contrived to deepen the calamity and ruin which his barbarity had perpetrated. The governors of the provinces withdrew the slight remainder of their allegiance, and the power of the emperor was reduced to nothing—indeed, he seemed to retain his office simply because nobody that was more powerful than himself had leisure for so trifling an office as the dethroning of him. In the year 1413, the feeble monarch died, and the race of Patan sovereigns became extinct.

The race of Seids, or descendants of the Holy Prophet, followed, and held feeble sway for thirty-seven years, during which time the rulers of almost all the provinces had revolted, and the real dominions of the emperor were confined to the neighbourhood of Delhi. The second and last of the Seids gave up his throne to a rebel that he was unable to conquer; and Secunder, the son of that rebel, might, probably, have done a little to restore the power of the empire; but he was cut off by death; succeeded by his son Ibrahim; and it became necessary to close the list.

Ibrahim was a man of the most worthless

character, equally ridiculous and cruel; and while the people generally held him in derision, the life of no man of any consequence was safe from the steel of the assassin. It therefore became necessary to look out for a ruler who should be of a different character, and who, if not wholly above, should be unconnected with, the intrigues of Delhi.

CHAPTER II.

THERE was a man of that description at no great distance: the Sultan Baber, a descendant of Timur, who had his capital at Cabul, and reigned westward of the Indus, both south and north of the mountains. Baber, though born to a throne, and endowed with all the qualities calculated to honour one, had been a soldier of fortune. The first object of Baber in India was that of a conqueror,—to indemnify himself there for the territories of which he had been deprived in the north; and for some time his efforts were divided between reducing the Omrahs of the Punjaub, and the King of Candahar. In the year 1525, however, invited by a portion at least of the people, he

marched for Delhi. The support on which he had dependence must have been considerable, as he crossed the Indus with only ten thousand troops; but as he advanced his army increased, by the defection of the generals and troops of Ibrahim. Ibrahim mustered a large army to resist and oppose the Sultan, and they joined in battle upon the plain of Paniput, about fifty miles north-west of Delhi. Ibrahim fell in battle, together with sixteen thousand of his troops; and the victorious Baber marched on. The gates of both Delhi and Agra were thrown open to him; and thus the Mogul dynasty was established over the provinces of Mûltan, Lahore, Ajmeer, Delhi, Agra, and Oude, which at that time were all that remained of the empire. But Baber's reign was not free from troubles; and had it not been for the excellent character of the emperor himself, it might have been very disastrous. We shall for once indulge in a quotation, by citing Ferishta's character of this emperor—"Baber so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make it a principle and rule of his life to return good for evil; he thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshippers of his virtue. He was of the sect of the Haunafies, in whose tenets and doctrines he was perfectly versed; but he yielded more to the evidence of reason than to

the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the Great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy. He excelled in poetry and music, and wrote his own commentaries, in the Mogul language, with such elegance and perspicuity, that they are universally admired." Other concurring testimonies leave no room for supposing that this character is exaggerated: for there are many instances of the moderation, justice, and kindness of Baber, yet repeated as anecdotes in the east. Yet Baber was fond of pleasure; but he enjoyed it in moderation, and wished others to be happy as well as himself. The invasion by Baber, if invasion it can with propriety be called, formed a vast contrast with the brutality of Timur.

He died in the year 1530, thus having swayed the sceptre of India only for five years, a period much too short for enabling him to extend the empire to its former limits, which, had he lived, there is no doubt he would have done, with equal mildness and success.

Baber was succeeded by his son Humaioon; but he had many difficulties to contend with. He was obliged to assign to his brother the whole territory west of the Indus; and the

ambitious omrahs plotted to destroy him. He took the field, subdued Gujerat and Malwa, and entered Bengal. He was treacherously deceived by Shere Khan, the regent of Bahar, who was son of a mountaineer of Rohilla, and a man of extraordinary talents; and was forced to escape, first to the Rajpoot princes in Ajmeer, and then to the court of Persia, and there mounted the throne; so that there was an Afghan, or mountaineer, again invested with imperial sway. Shere, though vindictive and cruel, was not inattentive to the state; he very much improved the internal communication of the country, both by additional accommodation and additional severity. His reign was short, however, for he was killed accidentally in 1545. A rapid succession of sovereigns, none of them apparently very fit for the office, followed; and at last it was resolved to recal the son of Baber. Secunder, the nephew of Shere, had seized the throne, and marched to oppose Humaioon, who was returning from Persia with an army; but he was totally defeated, in 1554, and Humaioon, the second of the Mogul line, was established on the throne. Humaioon inherited all the virtues of his father, Baber; but after his return he had but little time to display them, for he survived his victory only a single year.

The race of Baber was, however, destined to raise the throne to the highest pitch to which the combination of valour, ambition, and wisdom, could raise it. Ácbar, the son of Humaioon, was born in adversity, when his father was in exile, among the Rajpoot princes; and he seems to have profited at a very early period by the hard lesson. When Acbar lost his father, and mounted the throne, he was only fourteen years of age, and he was under the guidance of Byram Khan, a minister of consummate abilities, but of most ambitious and domineering character. Young as Acbar was, however, he had the tact to turn all the Vizir's good qualities to account, and restrain all the bad ones. The revolted provinces were speedily reduced; but Byram, who had hoped to be ruler, was only the instrument. They were reduced for Acbar; and he took care that only such governors should be appointed as would remain in subjection. The generous nature of the young emperor was what displeased Byram most; and some of the instances of that were certainly striking. Himu, the brave vizir of the usurper, Mahomed, led an army into the very centre of the empire, and seized both Agra and Delhi. Acbar met and routed him in the field, and after the greatest displays of valour, the commander was brought before Acbar, covered with

wounds. Byram demanded that the prisoner should instantly suffer as a traitor. Acbar drew his sabre, touched the head of the wounded hero with it, in the gentlest manner, and burst into tears. Yet Acbar had himself been the victim of cruelty: one of those perfidious uncles who had been the cause of his father's exile, bound the young prince to a stake, and exposed him on the ramparts of Cabul, when his father's army was besieging that city.

When Byram found that he could not controul Acbar, he rebelled, and basely turned against his master an escort that he had obtained in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was soon defeated by Acbar, but the prince pardoned him, descended from his throne, and led him to his old place at the head of the omrahs. Now, however, stung at being the object of that clemency which he had laboured to repress, he preferred the pilgrimage in good earnest. He was provided with an escort, and funds becoming his former rank, but was waylaid and killed by the Afghans.

Acbar's next minister was the learned Abul Fazel; and the two together set about a thorough improvement of the internal state and regulations of the empire, while the sons and generals of the emperor were extending its limits. The Ayeen Acbaree was the result of

the inquiry that had been made; and when the resources of the country had been ascertained, the improvement of it was set about with the greatest vigour. The country was divided into eleven soubahs, or provinces; these were again divided into circars, and the circars into pergunnahs; and what each had and required was ascertained, to the minutest district. Nor were the means of informing the people neglected: schools were established; books were composed and translated; the spirit of the emperor inspired the people; the arts improved; industry became general; every body had abundance; there was no oppression, no heavy burden, and yet the imperial revenue amounted to full thirty millions, besides a contingent revenue of twenty millions more. In this scientific reform (for it was, perhaps, the most scientific, and at the same time the most salutary and successful reform in which ever monarch engaged), Acbar did more real good to his people than if he had commanded all the armies that ever were brought into the field. But it is probable that he was too generous,—had too exalted an opinion of mankind; for though his armies were efficient, and in excellent discipline, he left them under the controul of princes or nobles who were nearly independent; who, even during his lifetime, were sometimes ready to revolt, in spite

of all his vigilance; and who were the cause of some disturbance afterwards. But, taking all the circumstances together, there is certainly no parallel to Acbar in the page of history. At fourteen, he was a good and a great prince, and his goodness and greatness increased at an equal rate during a reign of fifty-one years. Considering the state in which he found the country, the number of races in it, the clashing of two hostile faiths, no man ever gave such an impulse to a country, or demonstrated more clearly the great good that a government is capable of effecting. Unfortunately for India, Acbar died in 1605, and, unfortunately also, his eldest and most promising son, Danial, preceded him; and thus the bright day of Imperial India closed with the tomb of Acbar.

The nobles plotted to raise to the throne Khosru, the grandson of Acbar, instead of Selim, the father of that prince; but they were defeated, and Selim ascended the throne of his father, under the name of Jehanghire. There were many amiable and admirable qualities in this emperor, but his passion for a female stained him with crime at the commencement, and tended to render his government more feeble than it otherwise would have been. That lady was Noor Jean, a child of the wilderness, into which poverty had driven her father, who was

a Tartar. He found his way to the Indian court; being a man of talents and virtue, he came into notice, and his daughter became one of the most beautiful and accomplished women in Asia. The prince had been deeply enamoured of her, before the death of his father, Acbar; but as she was betrothed to one of the best and bravest omrahs, Acbar would not consent to a breach of faith, in order to gratify the passion of his son. The lady was married: but neither that nor time abated the passion of the prince; and when he was seated on the throne, he caused the husband to be assassinated, and conveyed the lady to his zenana, or harem.

This act, which was one of the madness of a passion, of all passions the least governable, appears to have been a solitary crime on the part of Jehangire. The father of Noor Jean was elevated to the rank of prime minister, and his other relatives had high places at court; but they were all persons of talent and worth; and, though the relatives of a mistress that had been obtained by murder, it does not appear that the emperor could have made a better choice. The same system that Acbar had begun was followed up, and whole provinces, or districts at least, were won back from the jungles, and filled by an industrious population. The conquests were also extended, though these do

not appear to have occupied the same attention as the prosperity of the country already under the imperial sway. Both the public and the private character of the emperor appear to have hidden the spot of the murder. He was equitable, he was just, he was generous, and he was kind; but there was a caprice about him that had some analogy to madness, and which may have been at once the cause and the excuse (in as far as an excuse could be found) of the deed of which he had been guilty. The laws were administered with the utmost fairness, nobody being either persecuted or pardoned for favour, or because they belonged to one party rather than to another. He was a great personal favourite, and walked about among his people, in plain attire, without a guard, and sometimes without an attendant. He was fond of pleasure, fond of literature, fond of his people, and very fond of justice, so that if the one act could be forgotten, Jehangire would hold rather a forward place in the class of kings, though, compared with Acbar, there was certainly a falling off. In the latter part of his reign, Noor Jean had a great deal of influence over the conduct of the emperor, and in her intrigues she appears to have acted a part which it is not easy to explain,—the general bent of which was to exclude Shah

Jehan, the most able and enterprising son of the emperor, from the throne, though that prince was married to her brother's daughter. Shah Jehan, beside his father-in-law, who was a man of great prudence and talents, had very powerful friends; and the intrigues, which broke out in the form of rebellion before the death of the emperor, hastened that event, and were the commencement of a series of court enmities which continued to the close of the empire.

Shah Jehan ascended the throne in 1628; and he took a most cruel method of preventing, as he thought, any future conspiracy, by putting to death all the male descendants of Baber, except himself and his sons. Before his death, however, he found that he might have spared his cruelty,—at least, that if the future tranquillity of the empire was his object, he would have had to extend his murders to his own house, because there were there the seeds of conspiracy, which in the end, threw him into prison, and destroyed all his sons but one. The power and riches now at the command of the Mogul Emperors, appear to have been too great for human nature to bear. No tie of relationship or of gratitude appeared to be able to restrain those who had the most remote claim, from attempting to get possession of them; and thus, unless in the extermination of all

who could by possibility make the attempt, there was no security for the reigning prince, and no tranquillity for the empire.

Those, indeed, who have yet to be taught how much more heavily the curse of despotism falls upon despots themselves, than upon the people that are given up to their passions, and what real blessings the freedom and independence of his people are to a king, cannot study those salutary doctrines in a more instructive school than that of the Mogul Emperors of India. For deep and dark as their annals are with crime, we are all along compelled to view that crime as the deed of the office, and not of the man. Though we had had the choosing of the men that were to govern a large empire, with the greatest pleasure to themselves and the greatest happiness to their subjects, we could hardly have chosen any other than Baber and Acbar. Jehanghire, too, one would gladly suppose, was actuated more by the phrenzy of passion than by any inherent love of evil; for we have seen that he was mild, generous, forgiving, and just, in the general tenor of his life.

Shah Jehan and his family would, under different circumstances, have been models of all that is great and virtuous in the human character. In the administration of the law he

was just and equitable; as a conqueror, especially as a Mahomedan conqueror, warring with the consciences of men as well as with their arms, he was merciful; and in his domestic life he was quite a pattern. He had but one wife; their family was numerous; and they all possessed talents calculated for ensuring the esteem of the world. Dara, their eldest son, would have been an honour to any age. He was elegant, he was learned, he was just, and his bravery and generosity knew no bounds. Sujah, the second son, was fond of pleasure, but that was tempered by a great deal of prudence, and he also was open and brave. The talents of Aurungzebe, the third son, were of a sterner cast, and without the external blandishments of his brothers; but they were more powerful, and that power was increased and rendered dangerous by a habitual penetration into the designs of all other people, and a careful concealment of his own. Morad, the youngest son, was violent and headstrong; but excelled all the others in daring courage, and also in openness of character. Contrary to the usual practice, those princes had been educated in active life, and the characters which they displayed they had formed for themselves, not in the seclusion of a court, but among the people, to whom they were well known. Even the

daughters of Shah Jehan had conspicuous characters. All three were beautiful and accomplished; and the first and second were politicians: the eldest as the partizan of Dara, and the second of Aurungzebe, of the artfulness of whom she had a large share. The third is represented as being mildness and sweetness itself. With such a family, and with viceroyships in the provinces, equal in splendour to sovereignties, with conquest extending on all sides, and every thing flowing in that appeared calculated to satisfy ambition, one would have supposed that the house of Shah Jehan would have contained "the happy family." But the imperial Musnud was before them; and though their father had cut off the greater part of the royal line, there were four still; and the case was made more imminently dangerous by their being brothers, and each having some character with the public, and, therefore, some party devoted to his interests.

As Shah Jehan had married early in life, the characters of his sons were fully developed while he was yet in full vigour; and he seems to have been perfectly aware of the deep and dangerous character of Aurungzebe; as he gave that prince commands on the out-posts of the empire, and occasionally shifted him from the extreme south to the extreme north.

But Aurungzebe (it is impossible to study his character without being struck with some points of resemblance to Shakspeare's Richard) appears to have resolved from the beginning that he should be emperor, though the game was dangerous, and would to ordinary duplicity have been impossible. Shah Jehan was beloved by the people, and not an omrah, hardly even a mercenary, would have moved against him. Dara was also an idol, and he was the favourite of his father. Sujah was powerful in the command of the rich province of Bengal; and Morad was brave, though weak.

Aurungzebe assumed the habits of a fakir, and gave out that he regarded this life as only the highway to the next; but he lost not a single opportunity of extending the conquest of the Deccan, all for the glory of Allah and the greatness of Shah Jehan; but at the same time he contrived to consolidate a power there, which he could not only render independent, but turn against the north of India, whenever it suited his purpose. He had the art even to get one of his creatures appointed vizier to the imperial court at Agra; and, through him, to regulate his own measures by those of the court, so as to acquire strength without exciting suspicion.

Shah Jehan at last fell sick, and committed

the government to Dara, who either saw that his brothers would conspire against him, or was actuated toward them by a feeling very contrary to that which he displayed toward his father, and, indeed, to his general character. His brothers held command in Bengal, the Deccan, and Gujerat; their agents and papers were seized; all intercourse with them prohibited; and the imperial army was ordered to prepare for the field. Sujah immediately took the field, but was defeated by Soliman, the son of Dara. Aurungzebe proceeded with greater cunning. He gained over his brother Morad, and his former favourite, the vizier, with his army; and with these he took the route for Agra. The emperor, by this time, had recovered, and sent orders to his two sons to return; but Aurungzebe had perfected his plan, and marched. Aurungzebe passed the mountains by treachery. Dara had the imprudence to persuade Shah Jehan not to take the field, and thus the cunning Aurungzebe, by giving out that he came not as a rebel, but to quell the rebellion of his brother, prevented that defection of his army that would otherwise have taken place. The armies met; Dara was defeated, and forced to leave the country. Aurungzebe corrupted the remaining part of the army, and after a tissue of hypocrisy and deceit,

made prisoners of his father and brother Morad. Sujah, after a series of gallant efforts, which were foiled more by the treachery than the arms of his brother, fled to Arracan, where he and his family perished. Dara rallied gallantly in Gujerat; but he also was overcome by treachery, exposed as a traitor in the streets of Agra, and then murdered. The talents and the perfidy of Aurungzebe carried every thing before them; and he was soon master of the whole empire, and had his own governors in the provinces. When it suited his purpose, he did not scruple even to play the conjurer. An old woman, who professed supernatural power, had drawn together a number of fakirs, persuading them that in her arts they would be invulnerable; and they did defeat a number of parties that had been sent against them; but the emperor made counter charms, and they were routed.

But the perfidy of Aurungzebe, though it enabled him to defeat and overturn, was by no means calculated to consolidate; and while he was busy in ruining the states of the Deccan, whether Hindû or Mahometan, new enemies were arising, and the country was wasted. The famous Sevagee, who was a sort of Aurungzebe in his way, laid the foundation of the Maharatta power in the Deccan; and though the emperor

marched, and fought, and plundered, the mountaineers could not be exterminated, but spread themselves along all the ridges and jungles of the Deccan; and while he was combating in one province, they were plundering in another; and so insincere were the people, that many of them left the plains and joined the Maharattas. Thus the country was left in a much less secure state than the emperor had found it; while the emperor, by his constant habit of plundering wherever he went, had weakened the means of defence. Those indications were not confined to the Deccan; for the Seiks and Jâts, the mountaineers of the north, committed ravages in that part of the empire, though they were not so formidable, either in numbers or in position, as the Maharattas. The long absence of the emperor in the Deccan, too, had allowed cabals to form in the very heart of the empire; and though these did not come into action during the life of the emperor, they were in preparation. Thus, though under Aurungzebe, the Mogul empire extended from the confines of Persia to those of Assam, and from the Hindû Cosh to the banks of the Krishna; though his own government was regular and vigorous; though he had accumulated more wealth, and displayed more splendour, than, perhaps, any man that ever

lived: yet there were more enemies within and on the confines of his empire; and there were difficulties to contend with which no man of less talent and cunning than himself could overcome. His sons, too, had seen and followed his example, so that they bore towards each other the greatest jealousy. Death closed his splendour, his ambition, and his fears, in his camp at Ahmednuggar, on the Beemah, on the twenty-first day of February, 1707, when he had reached the age of ninety-four, and enjoyed the imperial throne nearly forty-eight years.

Notwithstanding his talents, his success, and his splendour, it is impossible to admire the character of Aurungzebe, or to regard him in any other light than that of a swindler, a murderer, and a plunderer,—one of the heaviest scourges that ever was laid upon a country, and the real source of all the troubles that for a century afterwards desolated India. And yet, as a mere spectacle—a phenomenon in human nature,—there is very little equal to him. He promoted the arts; he encouraged learning; he established schools, and erected public works; he was most active and impartial in the administration of justice; and he was liberal and ostentatious in his gifts. He rose at dawn every morning, and was in the hall of justice at seven.

There he was accessible to all his subjects, heard their complaints, and, if they were poor, he had a heap of money beside him, out of which he paid them for the loss of time that they had sustained in coming for justice. The trappings of his state were costly beyond example and almost beyond credibility. The roof of the hall of audience was of silver, and the screens that divided it from the other courts, of solid gold; and his throne, founded as it was in blood, was worth a million sterling—nay, the canopy and furniture of his state elephant were estimated at fifteen millions. All had, however, been gotten by plunder; for the revenues under Aurungzebe, notwithstanding the increase of territory, were probably not much greater than under Acbar, and the expenses were greatly increased. The example of Aurungzebe shows how much wealth and splendour one man may accumulate to one spot, if he has the power, and is not restrained by principle; and the subsequent history of the Mogul Empire shows how soon such wealth may be scattered, and the power by which it has been accumulated broken.

When Aurungzebe went to his place, his sons were scattered. The eldest was in Cabul, the others in different places; and each had his party. These took arms: three hundred thou-

sand men engaged in battle near Agra; the second son, Azim, was slain, and the eldest ascended the throne, under the title of Bahauder Shah; but was obliged to put down by force another of his brothers. He appears to have possessed both abilities and moderation, though the government was too unwieldy for him. He suppressed some insurrections, but did not attempt any further conquests in the south of India.

At his death, in 1712, there was, as usual, a civil war among his sons, the eldest of whom succeeded in killing the other three in battle, and was himself defeated and killed the same year by two governors of the eastern provinces, who set Ferakshere, a grandson of Bahauder, upon the throne, and deluged the capital with blood. The two brothers, by whom the new emperor was set up, and the outrage perpetrated, were two military adventurers, Seids, or descendants of the prophet, that had ingratiated themselves with Azim, the brother of the late king, while governor of Bengal, and had been rewarded with the governments of Bahar and Allahabad. This, which happened in the very year in which Aurungzebe died, shews the state in which he had left the power of the government, and the respect of the Mahomedan lords for it. From the manner in which society

is constituted in India, and the case will never be better while that constitution of society continues, no part of the power of an Indian government rests with the people; the only difference that they feel between one and another is the difference of the taxes that are levied upon them. The native princes, or their descendants, could not be supposed to have any other feeling toward the Mogul government than that of hatred; and whatever service any part of the Hindû population may have rendered, it must always have been mercenary, and ready to be transferred to any other party that would give higher pay. Thus the only strength that the empire had was in the Mahomedan lords; and when a number of these had begun to set up for themselves in the provinces, and others had found that they could sit upon the throne whensoever they pleased, the imperial power may be said to have been at an end. In the very year, therefore, that closed the long and splendid reign of Aurungzebe, the power of the Moguls in India was at an end. Even while he was alive, the Maharattas had the audacity to demand tribute from him for not plundering the province of Malwa, and in a very short time they received the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue, of the provinces in the Deccan, together with the *deesmukkee*, or

tenth; and they had the power of collecting by their own armed parties, which was just the same as giving them free range and license to rob and plunder as they listed; because those who were unable to keep them out of those sovereign powers could not controul them in the exercise. The Maharattas soon extended their ravages to the vicinity of Agra; and they would have carried back to the Deccan the spoils which Aurungzebe had taken from it, if they had not been anticipated. The two adventurers made a pretty quick succession of emperors—they dethroned another, and another, and another,—did the final office for another, still,—and were preparing for the second, when he took the start of them, and the doom was their own.

The next emperor was Mahomed Shah, a great-great-grandson of Aurungzebe, though he ascended the throne only eight years after the death of that monarch. His reign was a long one; he died in 1749, after having reigned twenty-nine years. The state of things was such that no monarch could have been great, and as Mahomed was indolent and fond of pleasure, his reign was most disastrous. Nizum ul Mûlk, the viceroy of the Deccan, laid plans for making himself independent there, and so leagued with the Maharattas, that they extended

their power into Malwa and Gujerat, and the greater part of Ajmeer, and it was evident that Nizum intended to be emperor; but he found that the mild conduct of Mahomet had preserved for him a considerable party. Meanwhile, the son of a shepherd of Khorassan had overturned the monarch of Persia, under the humble name of Kooli Khan, or Khan, the slave, mounted the throne by that of Nadir Shah; and, as such, was chastising the people on the west bank of the Indus. A message which he sent to Delhi did not meet with proper respect, and his messenger was killed. This was a pretext; and the Nizam invited Nadir to invade India, in the hope of thereby accomplishing his own purpose. Nadir advanced, took terrible vengeance upon the inhabitants of the town where his messenger had been killed, and proceeded toward Delhi. Mahomed collected an army, but had advanced only one day's march from Delhi, when he was met by Nadir, defeated, and his best general killed. Two crores of rupees (two millions sterling) would have induced Nadir to return; but a disappointed prisoner told him that the ransom was worth more, and Nadir and his army entered the city. What may have been his original intention is not known; but during two days his army behaved in an orderly manner, and he

appeared in the character of the emperor's guest. On the second night a report was propagated that Nadir was killed, and the inhabitants of Delhi most furiously began to massacre his army, and the night was one of confusion and carnage. Nadir appeared early in the morning, and ordered that no age or sex should be spared in any street where the body of a Persian was found. The command was fearfully obeyed; and from dawn to noon-day the sabre was red and reeking with blood, while many of the people destroyed themselves to escape the brutality of the enraged soldiery, and others took occasion to add to the murders —in the gratification of their private revenge. The city was on fire in many places; and it was noon-day before the emperor and his nobles could get access to Nadir, to implore mercy in the name of the Prophet. "I forgive," said Nadir; and every Persian sword returned to its scabbard; but private butcheries still continued. The dead bodies caused a pestilence; and famine was soon added to the horrors. An hundred thousand of the people are said to have perished.

But though Nadir had forgiven, he had not forgotten—a custom which is but too regular upon such occasions. He swept Delhi more completely with the "besom of destruction,"

than Aurungzebe had swept the Deccan. Three millions and a half in money; one million and a half in plate; fifteen millions in jewels; the peacock throne, one million; the trappings of the elephant, eleven millions; thrones, elephants, horses, equipage, fines, private plunder,—all that could be extorted or carried, to the amount of, some say eighty, but certainly sixty millions of pounds, was carried away; and the government was left as poor as it was wretched:—and this was only six and twenty years after the pomp of Aurungzebe.

The Nizam, if he did invite Nadir, for the authorities are not perfectly agreed upon that point, did not expect such extremities. He got the power that he longed for; but the wealth was gone, and he preferred the Deccan.

There is one fact recorded of the dreadful carnage and plunder, which throws a good deal of light upon the feeling that the people of India had, and in all probability have, towards public and even private calamities, when they do not fall upon themselves individually. They remembered with approbation the jests and pleasantries of the soldiers of Nadir Shah; and made them the burdens of their songs, and the points of their scenic representations. This was a proof, and a most melancholy proof, of the degeneration that had taken place since the com-

mencement of the dynasty under Baber; or, rather, since the throne had become so very splendid, and so unfairly obtained by treachery and bloodshed.

Lower than this the empire could hardly be degraded; and, therefore, it became the prey of whoever listed. The Deccan and Bengal became independent, the former under Nizam and the Maharattas, and the latter under its own Nabob. The Rohillas, who had originally emigrated from Cabul to the eastern part of the Province of Delhi, in the beginning of the century, set up an independent state in Rohilcund. The Maharattas swarmed into the provinces, under the false pretence of reconquering them for the emperor, till they so established themselves, both in the north and in the south, that the whole of India was within their reach, and almost in their power. Abdallah Ahmed Shah, who had established himself on the Indus, invaded India; but, though he annexed the north-western territory to his own dominions, he was in some measure the means of breaking the power of the Maharattas.

The successors of Mahomed Shah were very feeble, and the remains of the empire melted away, till only the city of Delhi, and a small district around it, remained to the descendants of Baber. The Jâts, who had been allowed

to migrate from the banks of the Indus, and settle in the doab between the Jumnah and Ganges, in the reign of Aurungzebe, and who had rewarded him by plundering his baggage when he was upon his last march into the Deccan, and with the proceeds of which they erected the fortress of Bhurtpore, which has stood so many sieges, found themselves strong enough to take possession of Agra. The Patans of Rohilcund also defeated the imperial army; and, indeed, that had become a thing which almost any body could beat, and of which nobody were in any dread, unless probably the emperor himself.

A crisis had indeed arrived, much more summary in its operation, and much more certain in its result, than that which had ushered in the fall of any other empire; and it had also come more immediately after, and grown more immediately out of the most dazzling period of that empire. The people who inhabited the cities and plains of India were passive, as usual, and all parties appear to have been enemies and oppressors to them. But there were three hostile parties: the revolted viceroys, who had become sovereigns of the most wealthy and important provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude, with all that part of the Deccan which was not held by the Maharattas. These were

Mahomedan states—at least, they were states under Mahomedan princes or nabobs. The Rohillas may be considered as belonging to this party. A second party also consisted of Mahomedans, and were more powerful than the other, because they were under one controul, and because they had more recently come from those mountains that had always been more productive of bravery than the plains of India. They were the Dûrannees of Cabul, who, under Ahmed Shah, had extended themselves as far as Lahore, and were in all the vigour of a new and conquering people.

The third were the independent Hindûs, who were either still mountaineers, or had descended into and taken possession of a portion of the plains. They were the Jâts, already mentioned as defying the emperor at the gates of one of his capital cities, and were in actual possession of the other. The Seiks of the northern mountains may be considered as another class of Hindûs, who, though, like the Jâts, to whom they were assimilated, both in language and in manners, they were more bent upon depredation than upon conquest, were yet powerful enough to harass the empire. The Rajpoot princes, who had never been absolutely conquered, had regained possession of all Ajmeer, and extended themselves into Gujerat; and though they were

not bent upon conquest, they formed a third native power, by which the remainder of the Mogul Empire was hemmed in. The Maharattas were the most numerous, formidable, and extended of all the natives. They held the whole of the northern Deccan, with great part of Malwa, and portions of Allahabad and Agra; and they were disposed to overrun and plunder any part of the country to which they could get access, a considerable number of them being professed Pindarees, or robbers. They were now formed into several states; but they were disposed to act in concert against anybody else. They had compelled the Nabob of Bengal to cede Orissa to them, and to pay them a tribute for his other possessions.

Thus, amid other parties, the Great Mogul had become a mere name; but still it was a name that was held in great veneration among the great body of the people. These had felt the advantage of having some one that could protect them from the tyranny of their local masters, and give them redress; and there is no doubt that even while Aurungzebe was plundering the princes of the Deccan, he was conferring a boon upon many of their subjects. Thus, while the emperor held the name, popular reasons made it policy to respect that. Grants of land were accordingly always sanctioned by his name,

even in places where he had no authority. The nabobs had firmans of appointment under him, even though they did not permit him to interfere by any act of sovereignty; and the coin continued to be struck in his name, long after he had become the mere pensioner of a foreign power. There seems, indeed, to have been something about the house of Baber which no misfortune could destroy, and upon which the action even of time itself has been much more slow than upon most other monuments of greatness in India.

In the midst of those surrounding enemies, the Emperor Ahmed Shah was, in 1753, deposed by Ghizi ad Dein, the son of a former vizier, with the assistance of Holcar, a Maharatta chief, who had been called in to assist in subjugating the Jâts, and his cousin Aulumghire was placed on the throne.

The new emperor, finding that he was merely a tool in the hands of the man that had set him up, applied to Abdalla, the Dûrannee Shah, who readily came, but demanded, or rather took, so much for assistance, that the very tombs were rifled. The Jâts, also defeated him, so that, in 1758, he returned toward Cabul, leaving the emperor very much worse for the assistance he had pretended to give him. The emperor then became a sort of shuttlecock,

flying alternately from one party to another, and each party in its turn deceived and insulted him, and plundered the remains of his empire. Toward the close of his miserable reign, Abdallah, the Dûrannee, again paid him a visit, and Delhi was plundered anew, and nearly depopulated; but a pestilence, which broke out in his camp, forced him once more to return. As, however, the emperor had begged not to be left in the power of his vizier, the shah left him in charge of a chief of the Rohillas. No sooner had Abdallah gone, than the vizier formed a junction with some Afghan and Maharatta chiefs, and invaded and took Delhi. The Rohillas bribed the Maharattas and escaped; but the emperor remained in the hands of the vizier, to be assassinated whenever that might appear to be necessary.

The Maharattas, a party of whom had before been allowed to settle in Rohilcund, came in such numbers into the north, after the vizier, who was in fact now the emperor, had employed them as auxiliaries, that, not without reason, they alarmed the Mahomedan chiefs on the east of the Ganges for their own safety. The vizier easily persuaded two of the Maharatta chiefs to pass the river, for the purpose of conquering the plain of Hindûstan. But Shujah ad Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, made com-

mon cause with the Rohillas; the Maharattas were defeated, and their army driven across the Jumnah, or drowned in that river. On the other hand, the Maharattas had extended their operations toward the north-west, and possessed themselves of great part of Lahore and Mûltan. This roused the attention of the Dûrannee Shah, who collected a powerful army of his hardy mountaineers, and hastened to recover his lost provinces. The Maharattas had proved so cruel conquerors, that no sooner was Abdallah on his march than the Mahomedan chiefs implored him to come to their assistance; and they even offered to place him on the imperial throne, instead of Shah Allum, the son of the late emperor. He accepted the invitation, at least so far as to march his army toward Delhi; and it became evident that the fate of India was reduced to one struggle—a contest between Maharatta and Mahomedan power; and that, in the event of the latter being triumphant, it would be Dûrannee power or not, according as might be the future pleasure of Abdallah.

The Maharattas collected their forces and formed their camp upon the plain of Paniput, already famed in the history of India. With them were the Jâts, and some of the other predatory tribes of Hindûs; and the whole population of

the camp, plunderers, followers, women, and children, are supposed to have exceeded half a million—though it is not, of course, possible accurately to state their number. This large following, which has always been an inseparable adjunct of an Indian camp, is one of the chief causes of weakness, and, when the camp remains long in one place, of certain defeat. The armed force of the Maharattas was, however, very considerable: they had about sixty thousand veteran cavalry, fifteen thousand infantry, two hundred cannon, and an immense number of smaller pieces, mounted upon camels, together with about fifteen thousand Pindarrees. They had strongly entrenched their camp; and the whole were under the command of Sedasiva the Bhow. It may not be irrelevant to mention, that the titles of most of the Maharatta chiefs were family names, in the same manner as they used to be among the Scottish Highlanders, though one, the Peshwa, means the leader, and was applied to those who were considered as the successors of Sevajee, who first formed the Maharattas into a nation during the reign of Aurungzebe.

The Mahomedan army consisted of the Dûrannees, whom Abdallah had led from Cachmere, the Rohillas, the Nabób of Oude, and some other Mahomedan chiefs. In regular

troops they were about as numerous as the Maharattas, and they were not encumbered by so numerous a following. They had upwards of forty thousand horsemen, of whom nearly thirty thousand were Dûrannees; and those were men of great personal bravery, and well mounted upon horses of the Turkish breed. Their infantry were more numerous than the regular part of the Maharattas; and they, especially those from the Rohilla country, were of a superior class. In çânnon they were greatly inferior, not having above one third of the number. The armies came near each other in October, 1760; but the flood of the Jumnah kept them asunder for a time, during which the Maharattas entered and again plundered Delhî, proclaimed the grandson of Aulumghire emperor, and, in the hope of detaching the Nabob of Oude from the party of Abdallah, declared him his vizier. Upon this Abdallah and great part of his army swam the Jumnah, and had the better of the Maharattas in several partial actions, some of which were very bloody. It was contrary to the usual practice of the Maharattas to fight pitched battles; and so they remained in their position, and more strongly entrenched their camp. Abdallah contrived to surround them by his parties, and gradually

cut off their supplies, so that, at last, the Bhow had no alternative but a general action.

Early on the morning of the 7th of January, 1761, he led out his army. The Shah allowed them to remove to a considerable distance from their lines; and then attacked them so suddenly, and with so much impetuosity, that the numerous cannon of the Bhow were of comparatively little service. Both parties fought with the determined rancour of personal enemies till about noon, when Biwass Row, the son of the Peshwa, a youth of about seventeen, was mortally wounded: this, by some means or other, produced a panic in the Maharatta army; and the rout soon became general. The slaughter in the action, the flight, and of prisoners, was very great; and of those who escaped the fury of the Durannees, many were killed by the country people, in revenge for the excesses of which they had been guilty. What became of the Bhow is not known. The probability is that he was killed, but his body was not found; and that occasioned the appearance of a spurious Bhow, at Benares, about eighteen years after. At the battle of Paniput, the Maharattas had put forth all their strength; and that was so completely broken, that only a very small fragment of their army found its way back to the Deccan.

This decisive victory gave Abdallah the complete power and disposal of the Mogul throne; but it did not suit his inclination or his policy to occupy it himself, and, therefore, he wanted Shah Aulam, the son of Aulumghire, to accept it; and, upon his declining, he set up Shah Aulam's son, the same that had been named by the Maharattas, under the name of Shah Aulam the Second; leaving him under the protection of Nugid ad Dowlah, the Rohilla, in the same manner as he had left his grandfather. One of the obvious causes of Abdallah's removal was the formidable aspect of the Seiks, who were attacking his forts in the Punjaub; but whether it was his intention, after he had reduced the Seiks, to return and seat himself upon the throne of Delhi, and, by the aid of fresh levies from the west, to re-establish the Mahomedan empire in his own dynasty, cannot now be known, as this was the period at which that series of operations, which led to the establishment of the British power, first assumed a formidable appearance.

No sooner had Abdallah and his Dûrannees returned, than the remains of the Jâts and Mahrattas again collected, and annoyed the nominal emperor. The Rohilla protector contended with these for a time, as he best might, fighting at one time, and bribing at another,

till the battle of Buxar, in which Sujah ut Dowlah, of Oude, the vizier, was overthrown by British force, in a quarrel which was not the emperor's, and the emperor himself sought and found protection, and a pension, from the British,—and, from that period, the influence of his name, whatever of it might be left, was transferred to them and their interests.

We have thought it necessary to give this condensed sketch of the conduct and fate of the Asiatic power in India, with more minuteness than we can afford to some other parts of the subject, because, though it be not the portion that lies nearest to the future, it is the one from which the most certain conclusions can be drawn, with regard to how far it might be possible to form the inhabitants of India, while they are in the condition in which they have always hitherto been, or in any other that has much similarity to that, into any thing like one permanent empire, governed by persons born in the country, of what nation soever they may originally be.

That they could never maintain, or even originate, one general and powerful state under Hindû rulers, is already negatived by the page of history. We have heard of kingdoms; and, under some of the more enterprising of the rajahs, these may have occasionally been of con-

siderable extent. But though they have been despotisms, they appear to have been feudal rather than regal. The pressure laid upon the body of the people seems always to have been the full maximum of what they could bear,—and that is always greater under a feudal than under a regal despotism; but wherever the kingdoms have been united, they have been found to consist of a number of chieftainships, very nearly independent, the one of which could always, without any great difficulty, be excited against the other. The native wars have always had a marauding character,—plunder, and not even glory, far less justice, has been always the prominent motive both with the leaders and the troops; and therefore we may conclude, that if the Hindûs were left to themselves, it would still be the mountains preying upon the valleys, and sometimes one valley preying upon another. It will afterwards be seen, to some extent at least, how this almost necessarily arises out of the division of the Hindûs into castes. The ranks that are produced by the accidents of life in other societies, sometimes do mischief: and yet they are always founded upon something that can be understood, whether it be thought right or not. The distinctions which, in a rude age, are given by greater strength and courage, and those which

talents, and place, and honour, and wealth, confer, when society is a little more advanced, are all founded in nature, and they are all useful as stimuli to other people, when the possessors have not the power of abusing them, —which, by the way, they have been very apt to do, in all ages, when left to themselves. But when, not only without any of those natural distinctions, but absolutely in opposition to them, one man is so superior to another, that the other would pollute him by his very presence, there is really no preventing the general character from being both silly and vicious.

When we look at the fate of the Mahomedans, in all their succession of races, from Mahomet of Ghizni to the Sultan Baber, the prospect is not much more encouraging. Most of them were enlightened men, and all of them were, at first, able men, as compared with the great body of mankind about them. Their governments were not governments of mere force, but were founded in justice; for, though Timur himself certainly was "a Tartar," in the broadest vulgar meaning of the term, there is a wonderful quantity of good sense and knowledge of human nature, as well as of sound principles of justice and equity, in the "Institutes of Government" which he has left upon record. The founders of the dynasties were, in fact, all

brilliant men—the foremost men of their respective times, in accomplishments, and learning, as well as in ambition and bravery, of all Asia; and we question if there were any superior to them in Europe at those times—or that there are many such even now. But all the races fell off, and fell off very rapidly; and those that came the latest fell off the fastest, which would tempt one to suppose that the first had been really the best; or that India has been becoming less and less fit for being a great state governed by persons born in the country, be they sprung from what nation they may. We have seen how the very extent of the Mogul power and conquest by Aurungzebe tended to raise up an enemy different from any with which his predecessors had had to contend; and it is not difficult to see how the structure of Hindû society must have co-operated in the raising up of that enemy. The Maharattas did not come, by the ordinary rate at which a people increase, from the small horde that were in the Western Ghauts in the middle of the seventeenth century, to the vast swarms which, in the middle of the eighteenth, threatened to monopolize all power in India, and would have done so if they had kept out of the plain of Delhi, and possibly notwithstanding that, if it had not been for the English. The numbers that they lost in battles

were equal to the original race, with all that we could calculate upon as their natural descendants, many times over; and, therefore, if they had not been constantly supplied by those who had violated caste, or become disgusted with the slavery of it—and these, though, perhaps, not the best, are likely to have been the bravest and most daring portion of the people,—the Maharattas would have been extinct long enough before the time of what is called the Maharatta war. As long, therefore, as the present structure of society continues, so long must there be, with any thing like a general native empire, a constant production of people like the Maharattas, whatever name they may appear under. Taking this and the other proofs that naturally arise out of the history of India, we may safely lay it down as a conclusion, "That there can be no general government in India, unless that government constantly recruit its vitality and its strength from some other country, which is not affected by those restrictions which render society nothing in India; and that, before any such government can exist, the structure of society must undergo a change, which, looking at the past, there are no very strong grounds to hope for in India."

Those who talk about governing and government, without knowing what they say, or, at

least, what they should say, are very apt to speak about shepherds, and flocks, and the pastoral care of kings; and these words are very complimentary and pretty. But the people must be the dogs as well as the sheep, otherwise the wolf is sure to come, and to make his very first mess of the shepherd. The government is necessary, just in the same way that the balance of a watch is; but, like that, it only regulates the motion, and instead of producing any, it consumes a part of that which is produced by the spring. The governments of which we have traced the succession in India, have had to be both spring and balance, and, therefore, they have never gone regularly or long. Those conclusions, or rather the facts from which they are drawn, furnish another element toward a right understanding of the India question.

In every point of view in which India can be considered, either with reference to government or to trade, the conclusion ought to be drawn from the country itself. Every way it is so different from Europe, that no European argument can be made to bear upon it; and it appears that the chief cause of the parliamentary and other blunders that have been committed respecting it, has been in treating it as if it had been a European subject. Even in the lowest of western states there is some attachment of the

people to their country, and also to their government; but the facts have shown, that there is nothing of the kind in India; and while that continues to be the case, it must be impossible to treat India in any way resembling Europe. Hence, we may repeat, though the conduct of Europeans, and more especially the English, be an important part of the history of India, it is not the part by which the future disposal of that country should be regulated.

CHAPTER III.

EUROPEAN POWERS IN INDIA.

BOMBAY.

We come now to a branch of the subject which is of a more discursive nature, and for the illustration of which there are far more abundant materials—enough, indeed, to furnish reading for life to one who is not a very

voracious devourer of books, and which one would need to live that life over again before he could very fully or clearly understand. The chief cause of this perplexity is, that the evidence is all on the one side—letting us know how Europeans have felt toward the Hindûs, but not how the Hindûs have felt toward Europeans. There are also some minor perplexities, such as that one man has written to make a point for a party, and another has written to make a book; but these are light and manageable matters as compared with the others.

There are one or two preliminary considerations which it is necessary to bear in mind. When one examines the transactions of Europeans in the East, from first to last, their general motive has been to make as much of India as ever they could, and return with that to Europe; and though there have been periodical modifications, according as the spirit of Europeans has been dark or illuminated, and also differences arising from the characters of individuals, and the views of those by whom they have been employed; yet we suspect that the most generally accurate assertion is, that whatever he may have professed or pretended, no European ever doubled the promontory of Southern Africa with the hope of benefiting India highest in his mind. The two extremes may have been, in-

deed they have been, to get the wealth of India by any means, and to get it by such means as, instead of diminishing or destroying, would increase the chance of getting more. The first of these was the plan with all the early visitants of remote countries; and as the last should have been the plan with the East India Company, even since they became permanent sovereigns, it is but fair, in the mean time, to suppose that it may have been their motive. And yet, though it may have been the habitual motive of the Company (and one does not see very clearly how it could in any accordance with their characters as merchants have been that) it is not easy to see by what sort of process they could make the active part of it the habit of their servants. If the principle of love of country in England, where, by common parlance, the people have so much love of country, and so good reason for having it —if the love of country, here, has not been at all times sufficient to restrain the servants of the public from studying and following their own interests, to the neglect of, or in opposition to, the interests of the public, by what miracle can we suppose that public servants in India, where there is no love of country whatever, shall be uniformly pure? If people will job a little under the green tree of England, where

the bones of their fathers rest, and where their own are speedily to be gathered, can we, with reason, hope for a total absence of all jobbing in men who, panting under the burning sun, and pained with hepatic twinges that can turn the honey of human nature into gall, and who are all the while looking athwart a quadrant of the globe to this same England, as the place that is to reward them when the day of their absence has gone by,—nay, who not only do this, but who actually fling an equal die for a wealthy old age with death himself? Either man must change his nature when he changes the hemisphere, or the constant object of all who are sent thither from England, must be to make what they can for themselves, without any regard to what may be the consequences to the Hindû; and the motive to do this is so very strong, that no mandate of a Court of Directors, Board of Controul, or anything else that has to travel fifteen thousand miles, can have much effect. It will be seen from the outline of this portion of Indian history, that we might have arrived at some such doctrine as that now stated, by an induction from particular facts. But the personal character which such an induction would have assumed, is avoided by this statement *à priori*; and when we can ground

an argument upon the general principles of human nature, it is always the most powerful as well as the most pleasant.

In order that our outline of the conduct of the maritime nations, or those who have visited India (upon their first visit at least) for commercial purposes, may be complete, it will be necessary to draw the line from what may be regarded as the beginning,—that is, not from the commencement of the intercourse itself, but from the earliest records that have come down to us. Now the earliest people of whom we have any accounts, as carrying on an extended commerce, are the Phœnicians, whose chief city, Tyre, was the emporium of the world. Though that city was situated upon the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians had ports in the land of Idumea, toward the Red Sea, from which their vessels coasted all the way to India, for it does not appear that, in those very early times, the value of the monsoons was understood. At first the merchandize, both of export and import, appears to have been carried by land all the way from the Red Sea to Tyre; but they subsequently got possession of El Arisch, at that time called Rhinocerera, which shortened the land carriage; and that continued to be the principal route for Indian commerce, till, upon the destruction of Tyre by

Alexander, the emporium was transferred to Alexandria.

Strabo, indeed, mentions four routes, by which commerce was carried on between India and the Mediterranean,—two that were, for a considerable part of the way, maritime; and two which, though there was a good deal of water carriage, were inland. The first was that by the Red Sea, as already mentioned; the second was by the Persian gulf, and though the land carriage was much greater than by the first, the line was shorter. The inland routes were much more intricate; and their length and the hardships to which those who followed them must have been subjected, are proofs of the great value that was set upon the productions and commerce of India. The centre of the Indian trade was Tatta, or Pattala, as it was then called, at the mouth of the Indus. They ascended that river as far as it continued navigable; and then they landed, formed a caravan, and crossed the mountains to the north, till they found the Jihon, or Oxus, navigable, when they again embarked on that river. As far as the point at which the Jihon approaches nearest to the Tedjen, or Ochus, the two inland routes were the same. But at that point they separated into a central, and a northern one. The central proceeded by a caravan westward to the

Tedjen, descended that river to the Caspian sea, crossed the Caspian, ascended the Kur, or Cyrus, passed the mountains, and descended the Rioni, or Pharis, to the Black Sea. By the northern route, the navigation was carried down the Jihon, to the lake of Aral, and across that lake to the point where it approaches nearest to the Caspian Sea; then by a caravan to the Caspian, where the navigation was resumed, and continued as far up the Volga as its nearest approach to the Don. Another caravan brought them to the Don; and thence the navigation was continuous by the Sea of Azof to the Black Sea, as before. From the length of those routes, the many difficulties and dangers by the way, and the interruptions to which the caravans were liable from the commotions of the countries through which they had to pass, this commerce was exceedingly expensive, and must have been confined to the most precious commodities. But the intercourse which was thus carried on across the centre of Asia, may probably account for some of those similarities that can be traced between the languages of India, and some of those of the west.

When Alexandria was founded, the trade by the Red Sea increased; but there is no ground for believing that a direct voyage from the

strait of Babel Mandel to the Indian coast was made before the time of the Romans, who found out the time and direction of the monsoons, and took advantage of them. That occasioned a very considerable increase in the trade with India; and though the details are not very clearly given, and the towns with which they traded were generally upon the west coast of India, it is not improbable that some of them doubled Cape Comorin, if they did not even reach the commercial city of Palibrotha, upon the Ganges. Besides Pattala, or Tatta, on the Indus, the principal superior rivers in India were Bragyza, Barigasha, or Broach, on the Nerbudda, and Musiris, or Mergee, the situation of which is not quite so well known. One can hardly suppose it to have been Mergui in Tenasserim, though the commodities would suit that place, and the monsoons may have wafted the Red Sea ships across the Bay of Bengal. Alexandria continued to be the grand centre of the India trade, till it fell into the hands of the Saracens, in the seventh century; and while they held sway in Egypt, the trade shifted into the northern climates, and Constantinople became the centre of it. This suspension continued while the power of the Saracens lasted; but when, about the middle of the thirteenth cen-

tury, the Mamelukes obtained power in Egypt, the trade revived; and the trade of India was both a source of wealth and a subject of contention to the rival states of Genoa and Venice; the latter of whom enjoyed the whole of the trade, for which they paid a handsome tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, at the time when the Portuguese discovered and doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese had for more than half a century persevered in pushing discovery along the west coast of Africa; and the first European keel that divided the waters of the Indian ocean, was that which bore the admiral Vasco de Gama to Calicut, on the Malabar coast, on the twenty-second day of May, 1498. At that time the fortunes of the Mahomedan sovereigns of India were low; the whole country south of the central hills, as well as Bengal and Bahar, had thrown off their yoke, and that yoke had not yet been extended to southern India. It does not appear that the western shores of the Bay of Bengal had been much visited by the early navigators, and the cause is perhaps chiefly to be found in the difficulty of landing, and the want of natural harbours. The eastern shores of the Arabian or Erythrean Sea were the parts chiefly visited; and when de Gama arrived, that part of the country was divided

into two kingdoms. Cambay, from Bombay northward, and Zamora, from the same point southward; and as the Baragyza of the ancients was in the one of these kingdoms, it is not improbable that Musiris had been in the other. Cambay, however, and not Broach, was the capital of the northern kingdom, and Calicut, where de Gama landed, the capital of the southern. No mention is made, in the very earliest accounts, of any kingdom upon the coast, from Cape Comorin to the Sunderbunds; but some are noticed on the opposite shores of the bay, and the names still are in so far applied to them. Rekhaing, or Arracan, extended from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Negrais; Pegu occupied the country from Cape Negrais eastward to the bottom of the bight at Martaban; and Siam the country southward to about Mergui, where the Malay Peninsula commenced. So far as we have the means of judging, those kingdoms, especially the two on the west coast of India, appear to have been a sort of feudal states, made up of petty principalities, the rulers of which were independent in their own dominions. They were at least as far advanced in the arts, and certainly a great deal more wealthy, than the native inhabitants of the same coast are now.

Calicut was a place of great trade, and

thronged by Moorish merchants from the Red Sea, and other parts of the Arabian shores. The king of Zamora showed every disposition to enter into a commercial treaty with de Gama, but the Mahomedans prevented it; so that he returned to Europe with only an account of the discovery that he had made. Cabral then sailed for India; but met with the same fortune at Calicut as his predecessor. Finding, however, that the princes of Cochin to the south, and Cananore to the north of Calicut, were inclined to throw off all dependence upon the king of Zamora, he leagued with them, and thus got the command of all that part of the coast, so as soon to command the whole trade. In 1508, Albuquerque the Great arrived with a strong reinforcement of Portuguese; and as he was a man of great talents, as well as great ambition, their arms under him became powerful. He not only took and burned the capital of Zamora, and many other places on the west coast, but he extended his attacks to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, and to Malacca, in the eastern Peninsula,—the latter yielding to his arms in 1511. Goa, which at that time belonged to the Mahomedan sovereign of the Deccan, cost Albuquerque more trouble, as he was starved out of it, and forced on board his ships, after he had obtained possession. But

in 1510 it was retaken by him, strongly fortified, and became the principal seat of the Portuguese power in India; and the whole commerce of that part of India was under Portuguese controul. The conquests made by Albuquerque were extended and rapid, but he died in the midst of them, after he had been about seven years in India, and had in that period raised the power of his country to the greatest height that it ever attained in the east, though the dominions of the nation continued for a time to increase. When we contrast their proceedings upon the Indian seas and shores with those of the Mahomedan conquerors on the land, Europeans gain little honour. They were plunderers, spoilers, and bigots on land, and pirates at sea. They commanded all the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, destroyed every ship they found on the seas, plundered indiscriminately, insulted the princes, destroyed the temples, and murdered or tortured the people, as the best way of promulgating the doctrines of Christianity. But while they spoiled others, they quarrelled among themselves; and though other events had not hastened the decline and destruction of their power, their own violence and bad management must soon have put an end to it. In the early part of their career, an Egyptian fleet had been sent against them at

the instigation of the Venitians, and had been joined by the king of Cambay; but they had triumphed over that. De Castro laboured hard to introduce a better state of things—but he did not succeed; and a number of the hundred and fifty princes whom they had made tributary combined against them. The arrival of a reinforcement from Portugal prevented these from succeeding; but the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580, caused the reinforcements to be stopped, and the downfal of their power in India was more speedy than its rise.

That union also put an end to the trade in the commodities of India which the Dutch had carried on from Portugal to the rest of Europe; and they began to turn their attention to the obtaining of a trade of their own directly with the East. Their first attempt was to reach China by the north of Asia, a project which was also attempted by the English; but in that they were, of course, unsuccessful. Houtman, who has left one monument of his name, in a dangerous reef upon the west coast of New Holland, was at that time a prisoner for debt in Lisbon, and found means to intimate to his countrymen that, if they would procure him his liberation, he would conduct a Dutch armament to the Indian seas. His proposal was accepted; and four Dutch ships, under Hout-

man, sailed for the Indian seas in 1594. The first force that the Dutch sent out was nothing in comparison with that which the Portuguese already had in the country; and the latter had the advantage in local knowledge, and also in favour with the native princes, though it is not easy to see what claim they had to that, other than dread that their conduct might be even more cruel than it had hitherto been. It may have been, indeed, that the Dutch were even more harsh than the Portuguese; for, though they have never displayed the bigotry which has actuated the Portuguese and Spaniards, and butchered the natives whom they visited, under the pretence of serving Heaven, they have evinced fully as much cold-blooded cruelty as any other people. The Dutch had, however, many advantages over their rivals; they were a new and a rising people, with the spirit which the establishment of their independence had called forth still strong upon them; they were in the full excitement of desire for the riches of the East, while the Portuguese were satiated with those riches, and had all the vices and weaknesses that are inseparable from the possession of great wealth obtained by dishonourable means; and while the Dutch were regularly reinforced from Europe, the Portuguese were, after the union with Spain, treated with great

and intentional neglect. So assiduous were the Dutch, that in less than eighty years from the time that Houtman first sailed from Rotterdam, they possessed all the ports and places at which the Portuguese had been established, with the exception of Goa, Macao in the Canton river, and one or two trifling places, and had besides formed settlements on the Coromandel coast.

But the Dutch were not the only nation that was stimulated by the advantages of the Indian trade, or, perhaps, in those times, it would be as near the truth to say, the Indian plunder. As early as 1527, when the Portuguese power was at its height, a representation was made to Henry VIII. by Robert Thorne, who had obtained some knowledge of the subject while residing at Seville. It does not appear that the representation had much effect upon the king, whose attention was engaged about matters of a different kind; but the desires of the nation were excited: and as the horrors of the Cape and the power of the Portuguese together were supposed to render the southward passage impracticable, the north-east and north-west were tried with much assiduity. The attempts in the north-east were signally disastrous, only that they opened a communication with Archangel, which laid the foundation of the Russian

trade; and though those who directed their attention to the north-west made some important additions to geography, they, of course, failed in the grand object of their enterprize. At last, in 1577, Drake, having passed the Straits of Magellan, marauded along the west coast of America; stood across the Pacific; visited the Oriental Archipelago; had some friendly intercourse with the princes of the Spice Islands, to whom the character and conduct of the Portuguese had by this time become intolerable; returned by the Cape of Good Hope; touched at Sierra Leone; and, finally, after an absence of about two years and ten months, arrived at Plymouth, fourteen years previous to the sailing of the Dutch squadron under Houtman. The success of this adventure, the largest vessel in which was only one hundred tons, produced a great sensation in the country, and roused numbers to emulation. Cavendish followed Drake; like him, passed the Straits of Magellan, and plundered the western shore of Spanish America. Taking a higher latitude in the Pacific than his predecessor, he reached the Philippines; thence he proceeded for the Ladrones and Spice Islands, and returned to England by the Cape. Though there are abundant traces of cruelty both to the Spaniards and to the "savages," in the account of this

voyage, yet Cavendish appears to have been a man of much observation, and to have collected a good deal of knowledge, the circulation of which still more excited the people of England.

That excitement was increased by other causes. Some homeward-bound Portuguese Indiamen were captured, one in particular of sixteen hundred tons burden, and laden with the richest productions of the East. Some members of the Turkey Company, who had previously brought the produce of the East from Aleppo, resolved to visit India in person. Travelling over-land to Bagdad, they descended the Tigris, and sailed for Goa; thence they passed into the Mogul territories,—Acbar being then upon the throne, and travelling in the interior safe. They visited the court of Agra, and the city of Lahore; and then bending their course eastwards, they traversed Bengal and the eastern peninsula as far as Malacca, whence they returned to Ormus by sea,—by their former route to Aleppo,—and so to England, carrying with them a knowledge of the interior, in addition to what had been previously known of the coasts. These parties, of whom some set out about 1583, and others again about 1596, had letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Mogul Emperor; and they were upon both

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occasions courteously received by Acbar. Indeed, it appears to have been the fault of the Europeans themselves that ever they were ill received at any court, or excluded from any port or place, in the East; for wherever they went in a proper manner, they were treated with the confidence of friends. Even the cautious Chinese readily admitted the first Portuguese mission to the court of Pekin, and granted them a settlement on Macao; and it was only because they were thieves, that they were ever excluded from, or ill-treated in, any country of the East.

In 1600, Queen Elizabeth granted an exclusive charter to a company of merchants in London, to trade with all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, with power to export bullion, and to export and import goods duty free. The name which this company assumed was nearly the same as that which the East India Company still retains; the exclusive privileges that the charter gave them were absolute; and some of those which they adopted among themselves, were at least singular, it being one of the original regulations that there should be *no gentleman* connected with the Company. But though the charter was thus exclusive, as regarded the power of other persons to trade with India, that caution, which was a principal

characteristic in most of the measures of Elizabeth's ministers, still left it under the controul of the state. The charter was granted only for fifteen years; and even within that period, if found not advantageous to the country, it might be put an end to, upon two years' notice.

The spice trade being the principal object of this company, their first adventures were made to Sumatra, Malacca, and the Spice Islands; and the profits of the trade were very great,—never under one hundred, and sometimes more than two hundred per cent. advance on the capital. But the manufactures of India were in request as well as the products of the islands, and the articles brought there from China and Japan; and so it was suggested, that a country trade should be established between Sumatra and Surat or Cambay, and also the Coromandel coast, the cotton fabrics of which were the most profitable goods to exchange for the produce of the Spice Islands.

The ships of the Company, who, from their success and profits, had become rather formidable in the Arabian seas, had given some annoyance to those of the Mogul; and James, in 1611, sent out four ships, with a mission to that sovereign. These ships were assailed by a Portuguese armament near Surat; but that was beaten off, and the maritime power of the

English thereby established. The intrigues of the Portuguese had no better success. A factory was obtained at Surat, and other subordinate ones were erected along the west coast; and they obtained a factory at Masulipatam, on the east coast, for the convenience of the trade in cotton stuffs.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe went on a mission to the Emperor of Ajmeer, and obtained a confirmation of the former firman; and about the same time, similar privileges were granted to the Company by the King of Zamora. Their trade was now widely ramified in India. Under Surat they had factories at Ahmedabad, Ajmeer, Broach, and Bradna, in the Mogul dominions, and at Cranganore and Calicut, in those of the Zamorin; but, taught by the example of the Portuguese and Dutch, the settlements were made strictly commercial; they were not allowed to fortify their factories, or to exercise any civil or military jurisdiction over the natives.

The Company had, in 1609, obtained from James an extension of their charter for ever, with only a power in the state to annul it upon three years' notice, if it should not be found beneficial to the country; and upon the strength of this new charter, they had, in 1512, changed the Company, from a regulated one, in which

each engaged as he pleased for a particular adventure, to a joint stock, in which the whole business was under a governor and directors. This change increased the power of the Company to combat with their enemies in the Indian seas; but it on that account, as well as by destroying the exertions of individuals, tended to reduce their profits as merchants. They were almost immediately embroiled in hostilities with the Dutch company. In 1622, their first act of sovereignty was displayed in joining with the Persians to attack and expel the Portuguese from the Island of Ormus. They furnished the marine, and with their Persian allies, defeated the Portuguese, got half the plunder of Ormus, and half the customs at the port of Gambroon, which were the first legal plunder and the first revenue that they received in the East. They were not, however, allowed to pocket the whole: the King, and Buckingham, the lord high admiral, put in their claim for *droits;* and, whether the King got any thing or not, the admiral certainly did receive ten thousand pounds.

The contest between the Dutch and the English continued; and as the former were at that time by far the more powerful, the expulsion of the English from the Spice Islands, was accompanied by what has been called the

massacre of Amboyna. Upon this occasion there was a great deal of public wrath, and angry writing and remonstrance on the part of the officers of the crown; to all which the Dutch replied, by declaring, that the property and government of the Spice Islands were theirs, but that they would allow the English to depart peaceably.

The fortunes of the Company had waxed very low in consequence of their political disputes, and the continued efforts of the Dutch to harass them, even after the latter had regained sole occupation of the Spice Islands. This annoyance became so great about the year 1740, that the English obtained permission from the native chief to erect Fort St. George, at Madraspatam, on the coast of the Carnatic. The court of Delhi soon after gave them permission to trade to Peplay, in Orissa, and to Hoogly, from which they had subordinate branches to other parts of Bengal; so that at a time when their affairs were comparatively at a low ebb, they laid the foundation of that branch of their connexion which ultimately gave them the power of all India.

The affairs of the Company at home had, in the mean time, been getting not a little perplexed. The King had granted licenses to others, and even, as is said, taken a share in

the adventure himself. The licenses were, after a great deal of negociation, agreed to be withdrawn, if the Company would form a new stock, and carry on the trade to the proper extent. In the raising of the new stock they were not to any large extent successful; and as Charles purchased their stock of pepper on bonds (which were never paid), in order to sell it again, for cash, they were in a worse condition than before. After the formation, or, perhaps, we should say, the attempted formation, of several separate joint stocks—yet all under the same controul, and with some difference of management, their affairs went on rather languishingly, and their factory at Surat was taken and plundered more than once by Sivajee, the founder of the Maharatta power. The first occurrence that tended to relieve their affairs, was the possession of the island of Bombay, which Charles II. had received as part of the portion of Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal, and which, as the easiest way of getting rid of it, he gave to the Company in 1688. This was a place that they could consider as their own property; it was strong, and, therefore, they could resist both the Moguls and the Maharattas. This was a rallying point, and those who had the management of the Com-

pany did not wait long before they tried to turn it to advantage.

In the affair with the Persians against the Portuguese, they had tasted the advantages that resulted from the Oriental mode of rule, though they had found that they could not follow that course with Europeans generally—and even if they could, the claim of the *droits* might again be set up. Therefore they looked for power in another quarter, power over Englishmen in India, and power over the natives. The discourses of Sir Josiah Child upon trade, had given a fresh impulse to the nation of the value of Indian commerce. But the first measure that enabled them to get the sovereign power which they sought, was an insurrection at Bombay, the commandant having declared that he held that island for the King. The Company got the power of keeping their own servants in subjection, and of defending themselves. So they removed the seat of their western government to Bombay; and prepared to contend with Aurungzebe himself. But the Maharattas, upon whom they had relied for assistance, were scattered on the coast; and they had to sue for peace, both on the west of India and in Bengal. When the native princes had began to rebel against the emperor, the Com-

pany's agents got permission to fortify Calcutta, to which they had recently retired, just in order that they might not be taken by surprise by the rebellious Hindûs.

Aurungzebe, too, confirmed the grant that had been made to them of Tignipatam, on the coast of the Carnatic, on which they built Fort St. David's, so that they now had fortified stations on both coasts, and also in Bengal.

About the year 1698, they bribed Azim, the grandson of Aurungzebe, who was then Viceroy of Bengal, to grant them the villages of Calcutta, Chuttannuttee, and, Gorindpoor, which lay contiguous to each other, with judicial power over the inhabitants; and that may be considered as the first sovereignty that the Company had in India.

Though first the Portuguese and then the Dutch had been the principal rivals of the English in the trade with India, they were not the only ones. As early as 1601, the French had formed a company; but the adventure was not profitable. Again, in 1633, they fitted out an armament, that attempted to establish itself first at Surat, and then at Trincomalee; but they failed in both, and did not make a fourth attempt till 1672, when they took by storm St. Thome, an old Portuguese town, then in the possession of the King of Golconda. Two years afterwards

the place was taken by the King of Golconda and the Dutch together, and retained by the former; but the French established themselves in Pondicherry, where a small tract was ceded to them. These were but small beginnings, and yet they are worthy of notice; because, if the power which the French acquired on the Coromandel coast was not the cause, it was the immediate occasion of the military power of the English in India. The hostile attitude in which these two nations had, with a measure of folly, that seems full enough to reflecting minds at the present day, and will be a perfect marvel to posterity, deemed it absolutely necessary to stand in respect to each other, was carried to India; matters which ought never to have been any thing more than the jealousies of merchants, assumed a national character; and battles, of which the real sources were in Europe, were fought upon the soil of India. As early, indeed, as the time at which their positions on the west coast were assailed by Aurungzebe, the Company had not only felt a desire of sovereign power in India; but had expressed it in the instructions which they sent to their agents,—putting them in mind of the conduct of the Dutch, with whom war and government had been the chief objects, and commerce only a secondary one. From the commencement of

the civil war, however, the Company had not been in great favour either with the parliament or the people. There were several causes that tended to heighten this dislike. Private adventurers were sent out to India; their ships were taken by the Company, and the crews tried at Bombay; and though the execution was stayed till the pleasure of the King should be known, sentence of death was passed upon them as pirates. The twelve judges had decided in favour of the Company upon their charter; and they set the law of England at defiance,—Sir Josiah Child, in his letters to the Governor of Bombay, describing the laws of England as "a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws for the good of their own private families." A committee of the House of Commons, in 1690, recommended the establishment of a new Company; and in the following year the house addressed the King to the same effect. The King could not contend with parliament; even though he had been so disposed; and therefore the only means left for the Company was bribery, on which they, in the course of the year 1693 alone, expended ninety thousand pounds. By the influence of their bribes in the Privy Council, the Company obtained a renewal of their charter for twenty-five

years, and at the same time their capital was made a million and a half, or very nearly double its former amount. The parliament declared the trade of all the world free to Englishmen, unless they were restrained by its act. Thus the Company and the nation were set in opposition to each other; and the former was reduced to all manner of tricks and pretences.

Meanwhile the trade was in a very reduced state. The seas were infested with pirates; the Company's establishments were in debt; and the extent and profit of their commerce were both diminished. This state of things continued till the year 1698, when the House of Commons, acting upon their former recommendation, introduced a bill for the establishment of a rival Company. It enacted that the old Company was to cease in three years, and that the estates of the shareholders should pay their debts. The new Company was to have a stock of two millions, to be exclusive like the other, but they were not to accumulate more debts than the amount of their stock, and that if they received any dividends while the debts remained unpaid, their private fortunes should be responsible. This new association, under the name of the "English Company," as distinguished from the old or London Company, obtained a charter forming it into a joint stock.

The construction of this new Company was not a very brilliant piece of legislation; and while, in trading along with the old Company during the three years that they were to exist, it was not very just toward them, it was a repetition of their system, hardly altered in anything but the name: it showed that in as far as making laws for the regulation of commerce was concerned, the theory of Sir Josiah Child was not altogether unfounded. The most absurd part of the whole was the loan of the whole capital to government, although the fact of the debt and embarrassment of the old Company was before them. This was, no doubt, the price which the Company paid for its existence; but it was buying a name and paying the reality for it. Another thing: the new Company was really two: there being one charter for an open Company, and one for a joint stock. The conduct of the two Companies toward each other in India, was well calculated for degrading and ruining both, and their stocks fell very low. In 1700, the King advised them to unite; but the old Company, who by this time had got their settlements in India fortified, and were looking forward to political power and reverence in that country, were evasive, and the affairs of both became worse. The two Companies formed a sort of union in 1702;

but it was anything but cordial. In 1708, a demand by government of one million two hundred thousand pounds, without interest, united them more closely, by adjusting their differences, and forming them into one Company.

About this time they began to be a good deal annoyed by the native princes. While the imperial power was in full vigour, the factories and little spots occupied by "the idolaters of Europe," as Ferishta called them, excited but little attention; but when the empire of Aurungzebe fell to pieces, and the Nabob of Bengal became nearly independent, he annoyed the settlement at Calcutta. They therefore sent an embassy to Ferokehere, at Delhi, praying to be permitted to carry on trade, duty free, through the provinces; to have debtors given up to them; and to purchase thirty-seven towns round Calcutta. The last was refused; but the others were, at least to a considerable extent, granted—in gratitude, it is said, for a cure which a surgeon of the name of Hamilton had performed upon the emperor. This gave them the country trade on the Ganges, which increased rapidly.

For more than thirty years the trade of the Company continued to increase, and there did not occur any general act that had much in-

fluence one way or another. To please the Emperor they had given up Surat; but, besides Bombay, they had settlements on the coasts of Concan, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, on the west; at Madras, and other parts of the east coast, and at Calcutta. The French had Pondicherry, to the south of Madras, and Chandernagore, on the right bank of the Hoogly, about sixteen miles above Calcutta. It is probable that the French used every art they could to make the English stand ill in favour with the Nabob of Bengal, the more so after that prince had, in 1740, ceased to remit any tribute to the imperial treasury at Delhi. In the Carnatic, the French began to take part in the contests of the natives, and the war of the succession in Europe led to the first direct hostility between the two nations in India.

In 1746, Labourdonnais, a sailor of fortune, who had been governor of Bourbon and Mauritias, and greatly improved those islands, as well as otherwise distinguished himself, appeared with a French force off Madras. The English settlement then extended about five miles along the coast, and one mile inland, and contained about a quarter of a million of inhabitants, of whom not above three hundred were English. The part of the town occupied by the poorer natives, was not fortified at all;

that occupied by the Armenian and other Asiatic merchants, was badly fortified; and that occupied by the English not very much better. The French commander began to bombard the English town, and a ransom was offered, but not accepted. After five days it capitulated; and the public magazines and stores were taken possession of, but the inhabitants were not molested. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was as remarkable for manœuvring as Labourdonnais was for openness of character, and had, under promise that Madras, as soon as it was taken from the English, should be given up to the Nabob of Carnatic, prevailed upon that prince to abstain from assisting the English. The French armament remained till it was overtaken by the monsoon, and forced to leave the coast, without taking on board one thousand two hundred French troops, that had been disciplined by Labourdonnais. Either despising so small a number, or not aware of their being there, the nabob came with a numerous army to take possession. But his army was, to his utter astonishment, beaten, by what seemed but a handful of men—and that showed at once, that by the help of even comparatively small armies of Europeans, territory and political power might easily be obtained in India.

The governor of Pondicherry immediately violated the terms which Labourdonnais had given the people of Madras, plundered the place, and carried off the principal inhabitants as prisoners. Next he attempted to reduce Fort St. David, but the English obtained the assistance of the country people and the nabob, and he failed in several attempts. An armament arrived from England, and marched to take Pondicherry, by way of reprisal for the capture of Madras; but the enterprise was badly conducted, and failed chiefly through ignorance of the nature of the country. Each of the two nations had now some military force in the Carnatic; and it was not difficult to find occasion for putting these into play, at a time when there were so many disturbances among the native powers in India.

Of these, the French were the beginners on a great scale, though the English had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to set up a protégé of theirs in the rajahship of Tanjore. The Nabob of Carnatic, Anwara ad dein, had been appointed by the Nizam of the Deccan; but Chunda Saheb, a relation of the former nabob, was the favourite of the inhabitants. The Nizam died in 1748, at a still more advanced age than his old master Aurungzebe, and his son Nazir, and grandson, Murzapha,

contended for the throne. Murzapha, Chunda Saheb, the pretender to the nabobship of Carnatic, and the crafty Dupliex of Pondicherry, made common cause on the one side; and Nazir, the reigning nabob, and the English, made common cause on the other.

Restrained, probably, by their want of success in the case of the Rajah of Tanjore, the English did not at first enter into the contest. Murzapha and Chunda Saheb advanced into the Carnatic, with an army of forty thousand men, to whom the French added more than two thousand more, four hundred of whom were Europeans. They found the veteran nabob in an entrenched camp, near Arcot, which the French stormed; at the last of three attempts, the nabob was killed, in his one hundred and seventh year, his eldest son taken prisoner, and Mahomed Ali, the youngest, fled with the remains of the army to Trichinopoly. The confederates did not immediately follow up their victory; and the arrival of a British mission in the camp of Nazir, prevented the influence which the French governor was attempting to gain over him. That prince marched into the Carnatic, summoned Mahomed Ali and the English to join him; and when the combined armies were near each other, the desertion of some French officers induced the French to withdraw; and,

on the following day, Murzapha yielded to his uncle, and Chunda Saheb retired to Pondicherry, leaving Nazir master of the country.

But Dupliex corrupted the Patan bands, who composed the most formidable part of Nazir's army; while the French general made inroads into his very camp; and the English left it in disgust. The schemes of the Frenchman were successful, and Nazir was assassinated. Murzapha being now sovereign of the Deccan, appointed Dupliex his deputy on all the coast from the Krishna to Cape Comorin; and he again appointed Chunda Saheb deputy for Arcot. Murzapha was killed in quelling a mutiny of his Patans, and as his son was a mere child, Dupliex had complete power in the Deccan, except where that country was in the hands of the Maharattas, and the small portions held by the English and by Mahomed Ali at Trichinopoly. The fortunes of the English were at this time very low: they were divided, and so disheartened, that when they ought to have given Chunda Saheb battle, the Europeans fled from the field; the army of Manomed Ali was driven out of the Carnatic, and there appeared to be little left for the English but to follow.

At this time, however, there came into notice one of those characters which, from the most unpromising beginnings, often change the fates

of nations, and who, unfortunately for the rest of mankind, excite our wonder more than our esteem. That man was Robert Clive, who, probably, on account of his being quite unmanageable at home, was sent out to Madras, as a writer. In his civil capacity he made little progress—he was too restless and turbulent for that; but when he escaped from Madras, he was allowed to enter the army, in which he evinced the most daring intrepidity and the greatest coolness. When the siege of Pondicherry was raised, he returned to his writing; but in the extremity to which the English were reduced at Trichinopoly, he was again employed, and by the daring and decisive nature of his movements, almost immediately turned the fortune of the war. With only five hundred men, he took Arcot, and carried on a successful war against more than five thousand, whom he scattered. Mahomed Ali upon this again made his appearance, and obtaining from the neighbouring states about twenty-five thousand men, and a reinforcement arriving from England, Chunda Saheb was attacked, routed, and murdered.

But though Mahomed Ali had beaten his enemies, his allies were not yet settled with. He had promised Trichinopoly to the King of Mysore, and the captain of the Maharattas who were with him wanted it also. The fort

of Trichinopoly was garrisoned by an English force; but both the Mysoreans and the Maharattas sat down before it. A tedious siege was the result; both the French company and the English became desirous of peace; and a short peace was concluded in 1754.

The French were still, however, actively engaged in the politics of the Deccan. Bussy, their agent, had a complete controul over the sovereign of Hyderabad; and so skilfully had he conducted the war against the Maharattas, that he had acquired for France six hundred miles of the coast of the Bay of Bengal, as the reward of his services. Dupliex, who had been the mover of the whole, did not meet a very grateful return from the court of Paris.

The English had now their own nabob on the throne of Arcot; and they began to aid him in the levying of his rents—or in plundering those who might offer resistance. When the nabob and the English laid siege to Vellore, the Governor of Pondicherry sent notice that he should regard that as a declaration of war, and the English returned to Madras.

Bussy was, in the mean time, preserving, and even extending his power in the Deccan; and the English were endeavouring to force the holders of the forts to pay their rent; when

the breaking out of the seven years' war in 1756, led to the renewal of hostilities. The war that followed in the Carnatic had more the character of a European war than the former; and though both parties intrigued with the natives, it was a regular contest between the French and English as to who should be masters of the country. The French were at the commencement superior in force, but they were ill provided, and did not like their commander, Lally. The result was, that they lost all their towns and forts, and were, in 1761, driven out of the country; Lally being most unjustly accused, and most cruelly put to death upon his return to Europe. But although the power of the French was gone, and the possessions which they once had in the Carnatic and the Circars were in the hands of the British; though also the influence which Bussy had obtained for them in the Deccan was partially transferred to their enemies, there remained in the latter country a respect for their military talents; and they had drawn toward the Carnatic the attention of an enemy that afterwards proved to be one of the most formidable that they ever had to contend with in India. That enemy was Hyder Ali, who, during the time that the English and French were contending

in the Carnatic, was raising up for himself the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore. Lally had endeavoured to win him over by the promise of some of the districts in the low country; but it was after the fortunes of the French had become hopeless: and therefore all that Lally accomplished was the preparing of a future enemy to the Company. By this time, however, the operations in Bengal had become so important, as to leave little doubt that the power of the British would soon become the predominant one over the greater part of India.

Glancing back at this early part of the history of the European nations as connected with India, there are two general facts that cannot fail to attract the attention of the reader. The one is, that they all sought power and territory as well as commerce; and when these stood in their way, they did not much heed the rights of the native princes. The second is, that though the Europeans were chiefly only companies of merchants, they acted as if they had been rulers in the nations to which they belonged. The causes of their disputes lay in Europe, and their contests were carried on and decided by European arms. Thus it became evident, that whoever should obtain the sovereignty of the sea, would necessarily acquire

that of the Europeans in India; and that the destruction of an equipment in the Channel might decide or alter the fate of the whole commerce and sway of the East.

CHAPTER IV.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH.

FIRST ERA—*to* 1784.

It has been mentioned, that, from an early period of the English Company's history, it had been their aim to be politicians and warriors, rather than merchants; to obtain revenue, and not profit, from the east; and, at the present time, it is matter of not a little surprise, that the greatest abettor of this system should have been Sir Josiah Child, a man who understood the principles of commerce, at least as well as most men of his time, and who had so very contemptible an opinion of the legislative wisdom of the Commons of England. But the policy of Sir Josiah shows that, if the Commons did not understand how to legislate for trade, he

was, to the full, as unfit for forming any opinion on the subject of government; and had he but once looked into the page of history, he would have found, that what he sought after had never been obtained:—that no country had ever continued to produce more public revenue than sufficed for its own local government,—that when such a revenue had been momentarily obtained, it had always been obtained by plunder and spoliation,—and that when it had been, in the case of conquered countries, attempted to be continued, the decay and ruin of the country had been the invariable, and, therefore, we are bound to suppose, the inevitable consequence. Now, had he, or any of those who have abetted the same system, but reflected for a moment, they might have spared themselves the trouble even of looking at the facts. Sir Josiah Child might have known, that no nation, however wealthy it may be at the commencement, can afford to carry on a losing commerce for any length of time; because the accumulated wealth, even in those cases where it is the greatest, is never equal to the supply of very many years,—because the diminution of that must tend to diminish the annual production, and thus, in a few years, the country would unavoidably become so impoverished that, unless the bread was taken out of the mouths of

the people, and the clothing off their backs (and that would end the business at once), they would soon have nothing to export. A trade can be permanent only when it is profitable to both parties; and the more equally it is so to both, it will be the more durable, and the profit to each will, in general, be the greater.

But, with reference to the wealth of a country, the government is nothing but a trade: and if the whole revenue be not expended in and for the country, it is a losing trade, and must be productive of ruin to the losing party, and soon terminate to the other. Nor is this the only evidence: when the government is what we may call a lawful government, that is, when it may not put out its hand and plunder when and whomsoever it lists, but make out some sort of case before it can put its hand into the pockets of the people—the average revenue that it can raise, or has by possibility ever raised, is that which just meets and compensates the average of its own expenditure. Not only that, but there is always a difficulty, and a great difficulty, in making it as much. We have the example of most modern states, and of England in particular, since her possessions and connexion with the rest of the world became so extended, and therefore needed the labour of so many heads and hands for conducting them, all of which have to be paid

the full value of what they do—and a little more for the honour and respectability;—we have the example of these, without one exception, that whenever any pressure of more than usual weight comes, there must be borrowing to meet it, and the sums so borrowed have seldom, if ever, been wholly paid off before a new pressure came, and required a fresh borrowing. And we may regard it as a very general maxim, that a government which has always a surplus and disposable revenue, is one which by necessity oppresses its people, and is in the way to destruction. Sir Josiah Child, or whoever it was that first impressed the Directors of the East India Company that they could get a revenue from India, appears to have overlooked that general principle, or been ignorant; and, therefore, the Company have found that their *income* has always been an *outgoing*. They have sometimes been angry with their servants in India upon that account; and the conduct of those servants has certainly not always been what it ought to have been; but to have found fault with them for not obtaining a territorial revenue in India, and transmitting it to England, has been about as wise, as if they had been called to account for not having found out the philosopher's stone.

The wars in the Carnatic, of which we have

given a very brief outline, were, to a great extent, national wars—a contention between the English and the French. But they had Indian consequences upon the English Company, and also upon their servants in India. They led to an extensive system of intrigue among the native princes; and as the Company themselves had, as early as the days of William, shewn a very remarkable turn for bribery and corruption, and as Sir Thomas Roe had pointed that out as the surest way of dealing with the Indian courts, they could hardly blame their servants for engaging in it—taking or giving, according as might be most conducive to their advantage. This must be borne in mind, as a general explanation of some of the practices that accompanied the extension of the territorial power of the English, more especially in the Valley of the Ganges.

The powers and privileges which the English had obtained in Bengal, under the firman of the Emperor of Delhi, after that emperor had ceased to have any real power in the province, and so might be supposed to be actuated by no very kindly feeling towards the nabob, who had revolted against him, were, of course, far from agreeable to that prince. Aliverdi Khan appears to have been upon good terms with the wealthy inhabitants of his large and

valuable territory: for, when the Maharattas made their descent upon the province, the zemindars, or holders of the land, voluntarily advanced a million and a half to ward off the danger. The free passage for their goods, the fiscal rights which the English possessed in their villages, and the claims that they had upon the persons of their debtors, could not be very agreeable to the nabob; and they were less so to his successor Suraje ad Dowla, his grandson, who had been educated in all the pride of the east.

Suraje succeeded his grandfather in 1756. The principal force of the English was then in the Carnatic; and the Governor of Calcutta, probably apprehending an attack, was engaged in surrounding the place with a wall and moat. Suraje attacked Calcutta, took it at the end of three days, shut up the Europeans in the notorious 'black hole,' where one hundred and twenty-three out of one hundred and forty-six perished in the most cruel manner, and the survivors were subjected to many indignities. This was a proceeding not to be borne; and the haughty and inconsiderate nabob was probably not aware of the power of those whom he had thus attacked with equal cruelty and cowardice. The English had learned in the Carnatic the great superiority of European

troops and modes of warfare; they were elated with some successes they had gained in the Carnatic; and Clive, raised to the rank of colonel, was again in the country. Clive landed with nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred seapoys. Calcutta was retaken; the nabob attacked in his camp, and compelled to grant honourable and advantageous terms. But Clive had had some experience in the degree of confidence that the promises, and even treaties, of a nabob merited, in the then state of India; and also in the spirit with which the French had been actuated in the Carnatic and in the Deccan; and, therefore, he knew that Calcutta would never be secure while the French held their settlement at Chandernagore, where they had three hundred European soldiers, and as many seapoys. Contrary to the wish, and latterly to the order of Suraje, the French fort was destroyed; and the nabob was made, by necessity, the enemy of the English, and probably would have attacked them, with all the force that he could muster, and the remains of the French, to whom he had given protection; but the Dûrannee Shah was then at Delhi, and was supposed to be meditating the re-union of Bengal to the imperial throne. Should the attempt have been made, Suraje saw that the English, who held a firman from the em-

peror, would favour him ; and that the Afghans, in his own army, who had been discontented in the time of his grandfather, might desert. There was also an enemy in the very councils of the nabob, in the person of Meer Jaffier, the paymaster of his forces, and the commander of a large division ; and there was general dissatisfaction among the officers of the nabob's army. Suraje not only protected the French who had assembled at Cossimbazar, and refused to give them up to Clive, but furnished them with money, and sent them into Bahar.

It was planned at Calcutta, that Meer Jaffier should be nabob, and that he should pay abundantly for the honour. Meer Jaffier was to join the English with his part of the army ; but he wrote that he had been suspected, made to swear upon the koran, and so could do nothing more than abstain from fighting, when the battle came. Even Clive, who, though not actuated by the fear which most likely influenced the majority of the council at Calcutta, dreaded treachery on the part of Jaffier, and was against fighting. The odds in numbers were indeed great. Suraje had about seventy thousand troops, and fifty pieces of cannon ; while Clive had only nine hundred Europeans, and two thousand two hundred native troops. The army of the nabob was

encamped at Plassey, about eighty miles in direct distance north of Calcutta, though, probably, more than three times that distance by any line along which Clive could proceed. He reconsidered the matter, however, and, stimulated partly by the glory, and partly by the gain, (for the immediate sums stipulated for were ample), he resolved to try the fate of a battle. On the 23d of June, 1757, the army of Clive came in sight of the camp, and a cannonade commenced, which rather alarmed the nabob. Before the armies came into contact, Clive observed Meer Jaffier filing off his troops, which made him sure both of the glory and the gain: he gave the word "Forward!"—the nabob fled; his rabble (for, after all, it was but a rabble) were scattered—and India was lost and won.

The traitor, with the other disaffected officers, waited upon Clive, and were instructed to follow the fugitive nabob to Moonshedabad, his capital. He escaped in disguise, but was retaken and murdered, and Clive followed to claim the spoil. The *public* demand was nearly three millions; and the extent of the private one was not fully known. The treasury, exhausted as it had been by the continued struggle of Aliverdi with the Maharattas, contained but a small fraction of the demand;

and jewels, plate, and all sorts of valuables were accepted in part, and Meer Jaffier taken, bound to pay the remainder by yearly instalments. The pretence for great part of the sum was an indemnity for loss at Calcutta; and among the items was a large sum to Omichund, a Hindû merchant, whose loss had been the most severe. But the council were for all. They made two treaties, one with the Hindû merchant's claim, and another without it, intending that Meer Jaffier should fulfil only the latter. Admiral Watson would not sign the fraud; but they forged his signature, cheated and ruined their Hindû friend, who went deranged when he found that he had been the associate of villains so unprincipled and despicable. Thus was the power of the English founded in Bengal. It was while Clive and the council were reaping this golden harvest in Bengal that the second war with the French took place in the Carnatic, and might have been fatal to the English interests there, had it not been for the precipitate conduct of Lally, and the divisions among the French themselves.

But though the English had set up Meer Jaffier, they had set him up with an exhausted treasury, and burdened with debt, and conducted themselves in such a way that he could

have no confidence in them; and probably he might have made some attempt to dislodge them, but he was weak, and disliked from the very terms that they had imposed upon him; and other enemies were in the field. Shah Aulum, the eldest son of the Emperor Jehanghire, being promised aid, which he does not appear to have received, from the Rohillas, from the Nabob of Oude, and others, advanced in order to wrest Bengal from the English nabob. Upon this the nabob and Clive made common cause. In defiance of the grants which the emperors had made to the English—in spite of the legitimacy of the prince,—Clive marched against him, in company with the best part of Jaffier's troops; and the prince, disgusted by the cold and doubtful conduct of his pretended friends, wrote to Clive, begging a pension. Though Clive owed this entirely to the weakness of the prince, it was very profitable to him. Jaffier loaded him with thanks and honours; and with the more solid reward of the rents which the Company paid in jaghire, for the land occupied by them around Calcutta, and which amounted to thirty thousand pounds a year.

The Dutch, from whom the English had learned to seek revenue in India, heard of the vast plunder(?) which, if not shared by the

Company, had been acquired by their servants, and they came to claim a share; but Clive drove them off, and soon after returned to England.

Profitable as the regular trade of India had been at the commencement, Clive and his associates had shewn that nabob-making was the most lucrative trade in the east; and, therefore, they had resolved that the elevation, or rather the depression, (for it was, in fact, a degradation,) of Meer Jaffier should not be a solitary instance. But Jaffier had made Clive an Omrah of the Empire, and had given him the jaghire of thirty thousand pounds a year; and the latter might have been endangered (the lustre of the former could not be tarnished) by the deposing of Jaffier, while Clive remained governor. Other circumstances tended to protract the change a little longer. The prince again appeared upon the frontier, with greater promise than before, as the nabob's general, who had accompanied Clive the former year, had raised up more enemies. The emperor, too, had been murdered, so that the prince had now what remained of the value of the imperial name. Various encounters took place; but the superior valour and conduct of Colonel Calliud and his officers made them successful in most instances; yet if there had been a com-

mander, even of very moderate talents, on the other side, the affairs of India would have been very different.

When Clive departed with his wealth for England, in the early part of 1760, and left the governorship to Vansittart, his nominee, the affairs of the Company at Calcutta were found in a state that but ill accorded with the wealth of the late governor. When they stipulated for the large sums from Jaffier, they never considered where these sums were to be found, or even whether it was or was not possible to find them; and what with his own vices, and what with the exhausted state of the country, instead of the stipulated sums, he could not pay the troops. The affairs of the Company were in no better state. Their funds were so exhausted, that, instead of being able to send to Madras and Bombay the supplies which they were expected to send, the trade was nearly at an end, and the troops were in a state of mutiny. Nor was there any hope that the nabob could help them; he hated them, and, besides, he was not in a condition for doing very much for himself.

It had been proposed by Mr. Holwell, during the time that he was interim governor, after Clive had departed, and before Vansittart arrived, to take part with the emperor, and re-

store his power in the province. That was overruled by the new governor, and the majority of the council, upon his arrival; and a negociation was opened with Meer Cossim, the son-in-law of Jaffier, offering him the nabobship, if he would cede to the council at Calcutta the revenues of the districts of Chittagong, Burdwar, and Mindapore, pay the balance due by Jaffier, and advance fifty thousand pounds towards the cost of the war in the Carnatic. He agreed—Jaffier was deposed, and indignantly retired to Calcutta to spend the remainder of his days. The opposition in the council considered this as a breach of faith; but it was carried: and Cossim, who was a man much more worthy of reigning than Jaffier, (though, like him, he had consented to ascend a dependant throne by dishonourable means,) set about raising the supplies. He soon paid the arrears of the troops, and supplied the council with a considerable sum. The English forces, and those of the nabob, marched to drive the emperor out of Bahar; they easily defeated his army, and he sought terms; and Cossim was invested with the nabobship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on condition of paying a stipulated sum. But the emperor was not proclaimed at Patna, where the conference took place; and, therefore, as the Du-

rannee Sultan had advised, he went into the protection of the Nabob of Oude and the other Afghan chiefs. He tendered the English so many privileges, that had it not been for the reduced state of their funds, it is probable that they would have embarked in the imperial cause, and embroiled the Company in the last and futile struggle of the house of Timur.

Meer Cossim, who had no means of raising supplies, either for himself or for the Company, but extortion, turned his thoughts toward the Governor of Patna, who was supposed to be rich. The English deserted the governor; his house was plundered, and his friends put to the torture by Cossim; but no treasure of any consequence was to be found; and the act sunk the English name and honour very low. Their councils were at the same time divided; and the Company at home and their servants in India were at variance.

These circumstances inspired Cossim with a hope that, as he had fulfilled the hard conditions, stipulated, or rather dictated to him by the Company, they would act in the same manner toward him and his subjects.

The firman which had been formerly granted by the emperor to the Company, of having their goods transported without paying any duties at the chokeys, or toll-houses, had, of

course, been intended to apply only to the *bona fide* trade of the Company—to the goods that they might import at Calcutta, or be carrying thither for the purpose of being exported. But after the principal servants of the Company had begun to traffic in nabobs, it was almost a matter of course that the inferior ones should traffic in breaches of the law. The *dustuck*, or certificate, thus became a matter of the grossest abuse; and was used by any body, for the conveyance of any kind of goods, provided that they had the dress of Company's officers. By not paying the duties, these persons could undersell those who did pay them, and thus they got the whole internal trade into their hands; and the emperor's toll-gatherers were insulted and beaten. These enormities, and others, increased to such a degree, that the very forts of the nabob were insulted. What rendered matters worse was, that the majority of the council were in favour of all these abuses—of every abuse.

The president arranged with the nabob that the private trade by the Company's servants should pay duty. This was defeated by the council; a small duty allowed per favour; and the disputes left to be settled by the English, who profited by the aggression. By these enormities, Cossim was left no alternative but

war; and the moment that he was in arms, the Council set up his father-in-law anew, who, though a much worse ruler even for the interests of their employers in England, was a more convenient tool. Meer Cossim defended himself for some time with considerable bravery; but as the country was still divided, he was at last driven into the dominions of Oude, carrying with him considerable riches. He found the Nabob of Oude, Suja Dowlah, who was vizier, and the emperor, together, near Allahabad, and joined them. The vizier's object was to get Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa for himself; but he, in the mean time, made common cause against the English.

They were in a state of insurrection or mutiny. The seapoys having begun to desert to the enemy, Monro, who now took the command, had twenty-four of the ringleaders blown from the guns, at the same time that the remaining guns were ready, as well as the Europeans, to fire upon the remainder; and by that decisive act of barbarity, the army, or rather the ascendency, of the English was saved. On the 24th of October, the same year, (1764,) Monro totally defeated the vizier at Buxar, though his army was not more than seven thousand, and that of the enemy more than forty thousand. In consequence of this battle, the

power of the nabobs of India Proper was completely broken. Cossim escaped to the north; and Suja Dowlah having made submission to the English, was permitted to retain the whole of his nabobship of Oude, with the exception of the districts of Corah and Allahabad, which were given to the emperor, and the latter appointed for his residence. The emperor conferred upon the English the dewannce, or revenue, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the territory of the Zemindar of Benares; and large presents were made to the influential persons by Suja Dowlah, which he probably paid out of the treasure of which he had plundered Meer Cossim while under his protection.

The presents that had been received by the Company's servants during the seven years preceding 1764, are wholly unparalleled in the annals of bribery. Almost six millions, exclusive of Clive's jaghire, was proved before the House of Commons; and as nearly two-thirds of that were obtained by about twenty-four individuals, there is no knowing the amount that escaped notice. The sums received by Clive alone, including the jaghire, amounted (above board) to about a million sterling; and how much they may have exceeded that amount in fact, there is no knowing.

Amid all this the Company were losing—had

no money but what they borrowed, and that they often did, at high interest, from their own servants.

When the state of the Company's affairs had been a little known at home, Clive, who had been made a peer, was sent out again as governor-general, with very ample powers; and though the Company at first intended to restrain the audacity of their servants in the matter of the inland trade, they wavered, and the trade was continued. The Company stipulated, however, that the presents should be for the future paid to themselves.

Before Clive arrived in India, the Nabob of Oude had been defeated; Meer Jaffier again put into the nominal nabobship of Bengal; and, unable to raise the supplies which were demanded at Calcutta, he had died; Nujam ad Dowlah had been set up, and had been again liberal in the article of presents. In the second appointment of Clive, with more ample powers than he had possessed at the first, the Company had achieved a piece of matchless policy. Finding that the council which they had already at Calcutta acted independently of them, they had empowered Clive, and the other members of his sub-committee, to act independently of the council also. The majority of the council had indeed thwarted

the former president, or governor, and they had widened the surface over which the private advantage spread. In consequence of this, while Clive had got two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds at the making of Meer Jaffier in 1757, Vansittart had got little more than fifty-eight thousand at the making of Meer Cossim in 1760.

The settlements that have already been mentioned were made by Clive, in the course of which no reference was had to the English nabob, even when the revenue of Bengal was conferred upon the Company. The private trade by the Company's servants was so far made agreeable to the instructions of the court, that the tobacco branch, which was of no consequence, was given up, and the salt and betel-nut retained. Nay, a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco was formed; and Clive was a member of it, or, at any rate, an instigator in its formation, in order to make the fortunes of some friends that he had brought with him to India. The court at home remonstrated against those proceedings; but while Clive remained at Calcutta, the remonstrances were not much heeded, and the picture which he drew of the state of the Indian empire was so flattering, that he contrived to keep them in hopes.

The transactions in Bengal up to this period,

may be regarded as the first fulfilment of the early wish of the Company to have political power and wars; and the result was great wealth to the parties by whom those wars were carried on; great hardship and oppression to the natives of India; and to the Company—high hopes, which have never been realized—and heavy debts which have never been discharged. The Company were importunate for a portion of that Indian wealth, of which they had seen samples in the case of Clive and others, and which had been so studiously magnified to them to many times its real amount: and though the servants of the country must have been aware that they could not realize for their masters any thing corresponding to the sums that they had extorted for themselves, though, probably, that was a secondary and very indifferent matter with them,—and though, with one moment's reflection, the directors might have discovered that they never could by possibility bring one shilling of the revenue of India to England, unless they brought it as plunder, to the subversion of good government and the ruin of the people,—yet those in India did make a scramble for an increase of revenue.

Mere rapacity, however, though it may deal the more profitably with wealth that is already

accumulated, the less that it is enlightened by reason or restrained by justice, fails entirely when it comes to tamper with the way in which wealth is produced. If there had been any thing like common reflection upon the part of those by whom large territory was first acquired for the Company—or, perhaps, it is nearer the truth to say, in the name of the Company—in India, they must have seen that all attempts (even on the part of rulers who were of the people whom they ruled, knew all their ways, and wished them good) to direct their industry had failed; and that, therefore, attempts by mere strangers, among a people of whom they were utterly ignorant, were madness. If the servants of the Company had from the beginning protected the people from the oppression of their native rulers, and left them free to the exercise of their own industry, in their own way, there is not the least question that the people could have afforded to pay the full cost of that protection, and would have done it cheerfully; but the servants of the Company played the oppressors to the full extent in their own persons, and, therefore, there could be nothing left for their masters.

When Lord Clive left India in 1767, he received from the nabob, and he agreed to receive from his successor, sums which together

amounted to about eighty thousand pounds; and these he invested for the benefit of officers in what is now called Clive's Fund. He also made regulations in India, by which future governors and councils should not derive the same advantages from their situations which he had derived; and he sent home so flaming an account of the coming revenue to the Company, that the price of the stock rose high in the market, and the dividend was increased to twelve and a half per cent. An investigation took place in parliament, and there appearing no reasonable foundation for the rise in the dividend, it was ordered to be reduced.

The governor and council set about the collection of the revenue with vigour. They let it yearly to native collectors, who screwed it up to a million and three quarters, which was more than had been obtained in the days of Aurungzebe. But the system of extortion was dreadful: the Company was omnipotent; the collector was either the judge, or could controul the judge; so that the people found no mercy in the first instance, and could obtain no justice afterwards. Whole villages were deserted; and the people, whom the oppression had driven from the lands, took up their abodes in the jungles, from whence they sallied in gangs, as *dacoits*, or robbers,—or they wandered

into remote parts, and joined the Mahárattas, or other lawless and predatory tribes. To add to the calamity, a famine in 1770, carried off nearly one third of the population. But when one man out of three was starved to death, the remaining two were compelled to pay his revenue as well as their own, and it was exacted to the utmost farthing. Amid the voluptuousness of Calcutta, the servants of the Company had not felt the famine; and they were determined that the revenue, and those whom they employed in the extorting of the revenue, should not feel it either. And yet when a third of the producers were taken away, and their burden laid upon the remaining two-thirds, the pressure upon the people was a little more than doubled—it was increased in the ratio of 9 to 4 (3 : 2 × 3 : 2); and as the previous amount had been all that could well be squeezed out of them, the misery that this occasioned was so great, that even the governor general himself stood aghast at it. Upon this, the Company appointed their own servants to reside in the different parts of the provinces, and superintend the collection, and the reports which they made of the success of the extortions and oppressions that were practised, from the great zemindar, downward to the humble ryot, or cultivator of the soil, were of so ru-

inous a nature, that there was no cure, or even palliation, without a change of the system. But the idea of a rack revenue was not abandoned: a committee was appointed to perambulate the country, and let the lands to the highest bidders. This would be but a sorry mode of relieving agricultural distress in England, where something is known of the people; and it must have been worse in India. The first trial of this plan was on a five years' lease from 1772; but it made matters worse. Those who had a hereditary knowledge of the lands, were, in many instances, dispossessed, and their places occupied by speculators; and year after year the revenue declined. The whole revenue for that period did not amount to three millions, of which more than the half was in arrear, with the certainty that it could not be recovered. The ancient proprietors were invited back, and the land let to them from year to year; but still the country continued to decline.

The complaints had been so many and so loud, that the legislature at home could hardly any longer desist from taking some interest in them. Bills were proposed, first, by Dundas, to give the King power to rule the servants of the Company with some minor matters; secondly, by Fox, to place the whole affairs of

the Company under the controul of directors chosen by parliament, with some minor matters; and, lastly, by Pitt, (which was carried in 1784,) to place the directors of the Company, and sometimes the affairs in India, without any reference to the Company, under the management of a board of controul, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, one secretary of state, and four other privy councillors; to appoint a secret committee of the directors, which could act independently of the general court, in like manner as that could act independently of the proprietors, and the board of controul of them all,—with some minor matters.

In one respect, the gist of all those bills was the same,—to take the direction out of the hands of the Company; and in so far it was perfectly justified by the fact that they had never been able to command obedience from their servants. Clive had directly insulted them; and by all after him, and in the intervals of his power, their orders had been neglected and evaded. Something more efficient was therefore necessary, in order to save British India from utter ruin, and the British name from indelible infamy.

In another respect, the bills of Dundas and Pitt differed from that of Fox. The former were both calculated to place the government of India in the King, that is, in the minister for

the time being; while the latter, though it ultimately placed the government in the very same hands, did so through the medium of parliament. The bills of Dundas and Pitt, therefore, tended to make the government of India a despotism, while that of Fox would have made it something resembling the government of Britain. Under Pitt's bill the revenue of India, whatever it might amount to, was to be managed snugly, and in a corner; while, had that of Fox been carried, the whole would have been open and discussed in parliament. Over the former there was no controul, but the pleasure (profit) of the minister and the party supporting him; under the latter, there would have been the same influence of public opinion that is felt in England. The declamation with which Pitt assailed the measure of Fox, recoiled, therefore, with tenfold force against his own; because that which could not have been accomplished in the one case, without a majority of the House of Commons, could in the other be accomplished by any six persons whom the minister chose to appoint. Legislation for England, on the same principle upon which Pitt legislated for India in 1784, would have been tantamount to locking up both houses of parliament, and meting out the amount and distribution of the taxes, as might be

found most advantageous to the conclave in Downing-street, who would have had King, country, and all at their mercy; and the minister, backed by the sword, (which is always a purchaseable commodity,) might have played at nabobs with the house of Hanover, and zemindars with the barons of England. Such was the spirit of the first assumption of Indian power by the government of this country.

Yet, bad as that measure was in principle—and that which is very bad in principle is not often superlatively good in practice—it had some beneficial effects in India. It had a strength, which, though distance might make them a little dilatory, the servants in India could not utterly disobey; and that, though to an Englishman it seems but little, was a great deal in the then state of India.

Lord Cornwallis, who was appointed the first governor-general under the board of controul, (for from the moment of its establishment we are to consider that as the real government, and the Company only as a deputy, or a mask, according to the deeds to be done,) appears to have gone to India with every wish to do all the good in his power; and as that power was the power of the British executive, it was ample enough. But there is another element of action, not only indispensable, but necessarily

anterior to the application of power; and that is, the knowledge how to apply it. This Cornwallis could not possibly possess before he went to India; there was nobody there that could furnish it, and the remainder of his days would not have been half enough for the personal acquisition of it. The first and principal object of his instructions must have been to find a revenue; because that, independently of the commerce, (and that was left to the Company,) a revenue was the only *British* object that could have sent him to India; and without a British object, it is impossible to imagine how he could have been sent there at all. But besides that, which did not need to be written, there were two important items in his written instructions; he was to examine and redress the grievances of the landholders; and was to see justice administered according to the ancient laws and local usages; that is, he was to perform two very important duties, of which the only approximate knowledge that he had, was calculated to put him wrong, and there was nobody that could put him right. Think of a bashaw with three tails coming to regulate the industry, and restore to its ancient form the law, of England, with only half a score of his own mufti to counsel him, and you will have a pretty accurate knowledge of the predicament

in which Cornwallis found himself. Cornwallis had left a country that was in a state of improvement, and rents were rising every year, and where, though the laws were in many cases bad enough in themselves, there was a reasonable degree of honour and justice in the administration of them. This must have been the notion of a country with which he was most familiar; and it must, without any intention on his part, have given him a bias the wrong way in India.

He took four years to consider what was best to be done for the landholders; and he saw that it was a fixed payment. So far he was perfectly right in principle; but he wanted the practical knowledge; and there he failed. The only datum that he had for fixing the amount, was that which had, by its inordinate pressure, produced the evil; and he estimated it, as if he had been in a thriving country, and not in one that was going to ruin, at the average of the last three years. He forgot the difference of law, too; and while he laid too great a pressure upon the zemindars, he left them to oppress and drive about the ryots at their pleasure;—thereby he prodigiously augmented the number of crimes, and (if the term may be used) of professional criminals in India. But though the law was, according to the doctrine

then most frequent in England, meant to relieve the landholder, without troubling itself much about the cultivator, it was found to work somewhat differently in practice. Whenever the zemindar fell in arrear, the collectors ejected him by a summary process, and sold his lands, and the rent of lands of this description that were offered for sale, yearly, amounted to about a quarter of a million sterling.—[What would we think in England if half a county were annually brought to the hammer for arrears of land-tax?]—The zemindars, who had not been subjected to this summary punishment under the latter Mogul rulers, were deprived of the magisterial power over the ryots, which they had then enjoyed; and so they could not relieve themselves by the same summary process to which they were themselves liable. This inflicted upon the country a burden of lawsuits that were almost as heavy and injurious as the rent itself. Some idea of the extent of this mischief may be formed from the fact stated of the district of Burdwar. The revenue of that district was only four hundred thousand pounds, and there were thirty thousand undecided suits, the costs in which, considering the way in which law is administered, even in England (and it is justice compared with the Indian mode), must have been more than double the rent.

Here, too, as in all cases of quackery—(the term is harsh, but it is perfectly just, as quackery is nothing but ignorance attempting to cure what it does not understand)—the cure only augmented the disease. The same summary power was given to the zemindars over the ryots, which the collectors of the Company's revenue had over the latter. There was no power of appeal; no time even for decisions of courts; the people took to arms; and the reforms that were intended to benefit and bless India, had the effect of embroiling multitudes in quarrels, and completely destroying the industry and morals of the people—while the revenue to the Company, which had been the grand mover of the whole, made its appearance in the shape of a vast increase of debt. So much for even well-intentioned regulation, by those who are totally ignorant of what they should do.

The first attempts that were made in the administration of the law, were productive of even more lamentable results; and till the present century was pretty well begun, even the countries of the Maharattas were, in point of the number and enormity of crimes, purity itself, as compared with Bengal, which, in former times, had always been the most orderly portion of India. The evidence of this is not

drawn from those that have been enemies to the Indian government, but from those who have been in high offices under the Company, and even from the governors-general themselves. Lord Minto, in a note written in the latter part of the year 1810, after many efforts and schemes had been tried for the establishment of a more effective police, describes the country in the following terms:—"A monstrous and disorganized state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authority, and almost at the very seat of that government to which the country might justly look up for safety and protection; that the mischief could not wait for a slow mending; that the people were perishing almost in our sight; that every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."

It is impossible, indeed, to imagine a more melancholy result of the effect of gross, though well-intentioned, ignorance, in tampering with matters in which the most consummate knowledge alone would have warranted the slightest interference; and the British seem to have thought that, because they could bribe one nabob to set himself up upon the ruins of another, and vanquish in the field half-disciplined armies, that had no esteem for their

leader, and no affection for their country—who, in short, fought for pay, and for pay only, and, if they got that, cared not for whom, or against whom, their arms were directed;—they seem to have thought that, because they could do these things, they had only to will for India any crotchet that might come into their heads, and nature would work it out by miracle. Acting upon this, or something as ill-founded as this, they broke down the power of the old zemindars, by whom the great body of the people were kept in order; and when they came to try the substitutes which they had prepared, they found that they were of no use. And how could they? They were framed by those who were in utter ignorance of the people to whom they were to be applied. It is but fair to remark, that when those imperfections in the rule and consequent (for they are consequent) enormities in the conduct of the people of India, have been stated to the authorities in Europe, those authorities have all along evinced a wish, and since the establishment of the board of controul, displayed a power which, if it could be brought to bear, would put an end to them. But if those upon the spot have not been, even since it was their interest as well as their duty to do so, able to discover the means, it cannot be expected that others, who are in still

greater ignorance with regard to India, and principally occupied about matters of a very different and even opposite kind, can by possibility be able to suggest anything better.

But, notwithstanding this lameness in the very first rudiments of good government, the acquisition of territory has gone on; and the grant by the fallen Mogul of the revenue of the provinces of the Lower Ganges, appears to have been a signal for the extension of the same jurisdiction over the greater part of India. The Company (for we may as well still say the Company) were too deeply involved for retiring or even stopping; and, therefore, although the principle is pretty fully and clearly developed in the conquest which we have already noticed, it will be necessary to cast a running glance at the others, which we shall do in the fewest words possible.

The Company having obtained the firman of the emperor for possession of the Circars, which formed part of the kingdom of the Deccan under the Nizam of Hyderabad, made, in 1766, a treaty with that prince, wherein they engaged to pay him annually nine lacs of rupees—(a lac is one hundred thousand rupees, or about ten thousand pounds; a crore is one hundred lacs, or about a million)—and held a body of troops in readiness to co-operate with him, for the five

northern Circars; besides which, they ordered the Nabob of Bengal to find him five lacs more, to be paid down, their own not being to be forthcoming till they were in actual and sure possession of the Circars. The bargain that they had made of Bengal, even where they had the whole revenue, might have made them pause as merchants in this one; but it did not, neither did they appear to make any calculation of the extent to which the league with the nizam might lead them.

They had been already skirmishing with Hyder Ali, who had set himself up in Mysore: and thus, after the nizam had quieted the mutiny of his troops with the ready money furnished by the nabob, the new allies marched to reduce the fort of Bangalore, above the Ghauts of the Carnatic. But Hyder had the address to detach the nizam from the English, and to make an ally of him; and the English commander, after sustaining a pretty sharp attack, had to make all the haste that he could to Trincomalee. Hyder proceeded upon a plundering excursion to Madras, but he did not remain. The nizam offered to negociate with the English; but not agreeing, a battle was fought near Velore, in which Hyder and the nizam were defeated. This brought the nizam over again to the English, made him

reduce the price of the Circars from nine lacs permanent, to seven lacs for six years, and ceded to them the Balaghaut district of the Carnatic, which was actually in the possession of Hyder. Hyder sought for peace; but the Presidency of Madras, who had lately, with not a little consternation, seen him at their door, waxed valiant, took the field, controlled the officers, and would have their nabob put on the throne of Mysore. The civilians made but lame commanders; and the army wasted the season of 1768 in unavailing trifles. Still Hyder wished for peace, but they would not listen; and they dismissed their general. On this the army, in which disease had broken out, became dispirited; and Hyder wasted the greater part of the Carnatic as he pleased. The old commander being reinstated, placed himself between Hyder and the Mysore; Hyder dashed on, by marches of forty miles a day, and showed himself with five thousand horse so close to Madras, that he could have pillaged all without the fort before the English army could have come up. But Hyder was not implacable: he stipulated for mutual restitution and mutual aid in war, and the president agreed. Soon after this, Hyder was attacked by the Mahrattas, and applied to the English for the stipulated assistance, but it was not given; and

Hyder, though the Maharattas did not leave him in a condition to show it in the meantime, was the enemy of the English, upon the plea of a broken treaty.

About the same time that the English made their treaty with Hyder before Madras, there was a combination formed against them, which, but for the discordant materials of which it was composed, might have proved formidable, if not fatal, to their interests all over India. It arose out of the treaty that they had entered into with the nizam. The readiness with which that prince had, upon the very first of their joint speculations, left them, and joined their enemy Hyder, and the readiness with which he had left Hyder, and come back to them, when by his advice Hyder was beaten (for it was the nizam that prevailed upon Hyder to abandon his own successful system of predatory war, and hazard a battle), proved how far the nizam could be relied on. No sooner had he reached his own dominions than a triple alliance was proposed, between himself, Hyder, and the Maharattas. Hyder was to invade the Carnatic; the nizam the Circars; the Maharattas of Berar were to lay waste Bengal and Bahar; and the Poonah Maharattas were to attack the British army in Gujerat. All the parties were willing enough

to go to war, in any country where they might find plunder; but they did not act in concert: and Hyder was the only one that went seriously to war, and he had the plea of the broken treaty. The nizam made peace; the Berar Maharattas never appeared below the Ghauts; and the Poonah Maharattas were beaten: and had it not been that the war with Hyder, though unintentionally upon his part, operated as a diversion in their favour, they would have been completely subdued.

The immediate cause of the war with the Poonah or Western Maharattas, had its origin in India Proper. In 1773, the Maharattas had crossed the Ganges to attack the Rohilla chiefs, who had stipulated to pay Sujah Dowlah of the Oude, as a British ally, forty lacs of rupees, for British aid to drive them back. The service was done, but the money not paid; and so the British next year invaded and subdued Rohilcund, and added that and the Jât portion of the Doab to the province of Oude. When the Maharattas returned in 1773 from wasting Hyder's country, they made some demonstrations of moving northward. An army was accordingly marched from Bengal westward in 1778; but one part of it was forced to capitulate the following year, though the other passed on, reducing the greater part of the

country from thence to Conçan, and it penetrated into the very heart of Malwa.

But in 1780, Hyder appeared again in the Carnatic, and approached near to Madras, which occasioned the western army to retire and give up all the conquests except the small isles in Bombay harbour. Hyder's army was very numerous, and Sir Hector Monro, being rather taken by surprise before the reinforcement from Bengal arrived, suffered a party under Colonel Baillie to be cut to pieces by Tippoo; and, Hyder having Frenchmen attached to his army, the British were dispirited and had to retreat. Sir Eyre Coote arrived from Bengal with seven thousand troops, took the command, and restored the spirits of the troops; he beat Hyder in several actions; and Hyder died in 1782. Tippoo, who had been more successful than his father in most actions with the British, succeeded his father. His attention was called to the west part of the Mysore, where General Matthews had made himself master of Canara. Matthews was beaten, and capitulated; but he and twenty of his officers were poisoned, and most of his army massacred by order of Tippoo. The Maharattas showed hostility, however; the French deserted; and, in 1784, Tippoo made peace, the war having produced no change of territory on either side.

The year 1784 was rather a remarkable one in the history of the British since they had begun to acquire territory in India. They were at peace with all the native powers. Upon another account, this year is an important epoch in the history of British influence in India. It is the year in which the change was made which rendered the directors subservient to the board of controul; but it is distinguished also by a change that took place in the manner of acquiring territory. Hitherto that had, though unaccompanied by fighting, been more upon the mercantile than the military plan. In the wars which are to be considered simply as wars, such as those with Hyder and the Maharattas, very little territory had been acquired; and the success had not been any thing very wonderful. Intrigue and money had done the business; and though the natives had been made to pay, there is not much that can be said to come under the ordinary definition of military conquest. The conquests that have followed have been of rather a different character, and may be considered as a second era, as they began under Cornwallis, who was sent out ostensibly to correct the abuses of which former rulers had tolerated the existence. It may, therefore, be as well to state how the powers of India stood at the commencement of this second era.

1. The British had Bengal; part of Bahar; the Benares district of Allahabad; part of Orissa, the Circars, with the exception of Guntoor, south of the Krishna; the Jaghire of the Carnatic, about one hundred miles along the coast and fifty miles inland; and Bombay, Salsette, and the other small isles in Bombay harbour.

2. The Maharattas had a most extensive territory in the centre of India, stretching from near Delhi to the Krishna, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, along the line of the Nerbudda. The provinces then occupied by the Maharattas were the following: the principal part of Orissa, Malwa, Candeish, Bejapoor, the greater part of Ajmeer, and Gujerat, and portions of Dowlatabad, Allahabad, and Agra. The whole of these extensive dominions were not however under one chief. There were two principal divisions, the east and the west; and these, especially the west, were divided into smaller states. The Bhonsla family of Nagpoor, who had established themselves upon the ruins of the Gond Rajah, were the chiefs of the Eastern Maharattas; they had established themselves there in 1738; their people were not wholly Maharattas, but consisted of Gonds and other wild mountain races; and they had joined their neighbour the nizam,

so late as 1763, in sacking Poonah, the original capital of the Maharattas.

The Western Maharattas professed to be united under the Rajah of Poonah, the representative of Sevajee, who had first consolidated the Maharatta power during the reign of Aurungzebe, and whom they styled the Peshwa, or leader. The provincial chiefs under the Peshwa, were Scindia, Holcar, Futtee Sing, and Guicowar, the first being sovereign from the confines of Berar to Agra, and the rest holding the remainder of the country from Agra to the dominions of the Peshwa. The titles of those Maharatta chiefs were mostly family names, and their allegiance to the Peshwa, when not their interest, was but nominal. The Rajpoot princes of Ajmeer were at that time tributary to the Maharattas, who, indeed, levied *chout* over a great part of India, and did not much heed what portion of it they plundered.

3. The Nizam (Nizam, though it originally meant the "putter in order," had come to be a family name) possessed the west part of Berar, the south of Dowlatabad, the whole of Hyderabad, or Golconda, and the Guntoor Circar, south of the Krishna.

4. The Nabob of Carnatic (the Company's nabob) possessed the whole low, or Payeen-

ghaut country, from the Guntoor Circar to Cape Comorin, with the exception of the Jaghire of the Company.

5. The Sultan of Mysore, Tippoo, held the whole country from the Eastern Ghauts to the sea on the west, from Travancore in the south, to as far north as Bejapoor.

6. The Nabob of Oude held that province under the controul of the British, which had been extended westward into the Doab, within forty miles of Delhi.

7. The Seiks held the west part of Delhi, Lahore, and Mûltan; they were detached bands, but there was a sort of general leader in the Seik of Lahore.

Such were the principal powers of India in 1784, among which the Mogul does not appear; the fact is that he was at that time the prisoner of Scindia, the Maharatta. There were a few minor rajahs in remote places, but they were of too little consequence for having any influence upon the general politics of the country. Of the native powers that have been mentioned, the Maharattas had the most extended territory, and the one best situated for enabling them to annoy all the other powers; but they were not united. Tippoo was the strongest; and though his country did not contain quite so many forts impregnable to eastern warfare as

that of the peshwa, its natural boundaries were stronger against a regular army. Such were the relations of the Indian provinces when Lord Cornwallis arrived in the country; and before he was called to take any part in a new war, he was allowed about four years to consider of and arrange his plans for the government of Bengal.

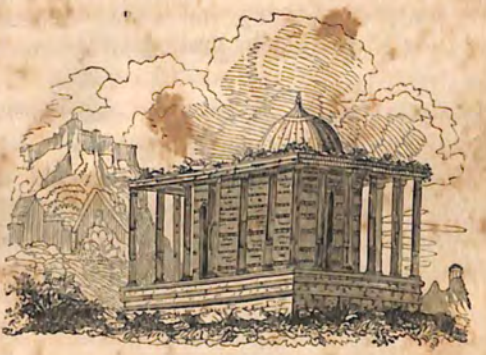
Although the steps by which this increase of territory was acquired, did not proceed from any positive orders sent out by the Company,—and although the Company, had they been upon the ground, and seen the proceedings, would, in all probability, have had at least some qualms as to what might have been the ultimate result, if not to India, at least to themselves; yet the wish that had been expressed for political power, territory, and revenue, the extended patronage which the number of new officers which the extended territory had given them, the advantages, direct and indirect, which that patronage produced, the seductive nature of great power in any form, the especial glory of a mere mercantile Company taking an important rank among the rulers of the world, and the difficulty of getting rid of the notion, though a mere prejudice, that they would, in the end, get large sums from India, no doubt made them, removed as they were from the

scene of action, and ignorant as they, by their own showing, were of the real state of the case, secretly pleased with the aggrandizement. The occurrences had been so dazzling,—had shone so well in despatch and newspaper,—that men of even more political wisdom and sagacity than we fear we are able at any time to ascribe to the conclave of Leadenhall-street, must have been unable to withstand the temptation. On these grounds, it would not be fair to lay blame at the door of the directors; for they who are tempted above what they can bear, fall, not through sin, but by destiny.

CHAPTER V.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH.

SECOND ERA—*from* 1784.



JAIN TEMPLE.

But though, as was mentioned in the close of last chapter, Lord Cornwallis got peace to mature his plans for the internal government of Bengal, he was called into action before he had time to see how they would work. The

Rajah of Travancore had early sought the alliance and protection of the British, and he had been acknowledged as their ally by Tippoo, in the treaty of 1784; but Tippoo was anxious to possess himself of the whole western coast, opposite to his kingdom in the Balaghaut, and would have had no great objection to add the Carnatic, even including the jaghire of the Madras presidency; because then he would have been sole autocrat on the south of the Krishna; and having no enemy in his rear, might have pushed northward, vanquishing the nizam and the divided Mahaṛattas, and sweeping all before him to the Himalaya.

He soon found occasion to begin. The Rajah of Travancore had bought two places from the Dutch, which Tippoo claimed as belonging to his tributary the Rajah of Cochin. Tippoo approached the lines which the rajah of Travancore had thrown up on his northern frontier on the 29th of december 1789. The Madras Council were very reluctant to go to war with Tippoo; but the directors at home were in good humour, from a considerable investment having been sent to England, and Cornwallis was anxious to humble the Sulṭan of Mysore. For the better accomplishment of that purpose, he entered into an alliance with the nizam and the peshwa. The Madras and Bombay armies

were both speedily in motion, the former to relieve the rajah, and the latter to attack Tippoo on his own ground. In the field they were both successful: the rajah was relieved by General Meadows, and great part of the country below the Western Ghauts was conquered by General Abercrombie. Next year, Cornwallis himself, having taken Bangalore, led the Madras army into the centre of Tippoo's dominions, and beat him near his capital. But there was a more formidable enemy than Tippoo, in the monsoon: the rains came, Abercrombie made a very difficult retreat; and the Madras army was confined in the heart of Tippoo's kingdom, where it suffered much from disease, and was threatened with famine. Cornwallis was anxious to possess himself of the strong forts on the way between the ghauts and the centre of Mysore. One of them, Saven-droog, was truly formidable. It is surrounded by several miles of jungle, so thick as to be impassable. The rock on which it stands is so large, that the fort could not easily be battered; and the top is cleft in twain, so that though the one part be taken, there is a repetition of the same difficulty in taking the other. The taking of it was of the utmost importance however; and so Cornwallis ordered the right wing of his army to the service, and superintended their

operations in person. In three days the breach seemed practicable, and the Europeans rushed forward to storm; the garrison were panic-struck; and in one hour the invincible droog was won, with only one private of the storming party wounded. Other forts were taken, and a communication with the Carnatic secured. The Bombay army, and the quotas of the nizam and peshwa were joined by the Governor General; and the whole moved on for Seringapatam, which they saw on the 5th of February, with Tippoo's fortified camp under the walls; and on the following day, the camp was stormed, Tippoo was beaten, his army scattered by desertion, and they were masters of his capital. Tippoo, after some unavailing struggles, sued for terms, and paid half his dominions, and three millions and a half in money, the commander-in-chief and General Meadows giving up to the troops their share of the prize-money, in all about sixty-three thousand pounds. The army of Cornwallis amounted to upwards of eighty thousand, with one hundred and ninety pieces of cannon; but the attack was made on Tippoo's camp with two thousand eight hundred Europeans and five thousand nine hundred natives, without cannon. After this defeat of Tippoo, the alliance with the nizam was renewed, and Scindiah

was acknowledged a sovereign prince by the British, the former of which rather offended the peshwa. Cornwallis then ratified treaties with the nabobs of Carnatic and Oude. Pondicherry was finally taken from the French in 1793, and in the same year he sailed for England.

By this time the French appeared in considerable numbers in India, not as a separate party, but in the service of the native powers, chiefly with Scindiah, whom they were instructing in the European art of war; and he so established himself as to become formidable to the British themselves; and, till they marched against him, he was master of the whole centre of India Proper.

In 1795, the nizam was attacked by Scindiah, but the English did not march to his assistance, and he made rather a dishonourable peace. His son rebelled, and the French, by the efforts which they made to reduce the rebel, ingratiated themselves with the nizam. The peshwa died about the same time, and Scindiah, though he set the rightful heir upon the throne of Poonah, became the most powerful of the Maharattas. He took possession of the greater part of Holcar's territories, compelled the peshwa to give him Ahmednuggar, by having which he commanded the city of

Poonah, and as the French had introduced European discipline into his armies, he was formidable to all India. The Nabob of Oude, dreading the power of Scindiah, put himself under the protection of the British, for which he agreed to pay a large sum. Such were the proceedings in India while Sir John Shore was governor; and though they did not call the British arms into the field during his residence, they laid the foundation of a good deal of fighting afterwards.

Lord Wellesley, as the successor of Sir John Shore, arrived in India in 1798; and found himself justified in taking more active measures. The expeditions which had been undertaken against the Dutch settlements in Ceylon and the Spice Islands, had both exhausted the treasury and weakened the defences of India; the French, ever since the commencement of the revolution, had been plotting at the native courts, and had succeeded in very many instances; and the nabobs of the Carnatic and Oude, who were attached to the British because they owed their thrones to British power were more in need of assistance themselves than able to give it. The nizam had at Hyderabad a corps of fourteen thousand men, commanded by French officers. Scindiah, who was also in so far under the guidance of French

advisers, had complete power over the peshwa; the Maharattas of Berar were jealous of the English; the French were fitting out a powerful armament, of which the destiny was supposed to be, first Egypt, and then India; and what was, perhaps, more than all the rest put together, the minds of many influential persons in England, and among others, that of the new Governor General, were in a state of the greatest excitement about the progress of the French arms and the spread of French principles. War, therefore, appears to have been the predetermination of Lord Wellesley; and Tippoo was the first object of that war.

As it was necessary to have the assistance of the nizam, not so much for the absolute help that he could give, as to prevent the possibility of his being made to act against them, he was directed to dismiss his French officers. At the first that threatened to be rather a difficult matter; but when the army, of which the French officers had command, was surrounded by a British force, the men mutinied, and gave up their officers, who were sent home to France; and the men were put under British officers The British also undertook to arrange the disputes which the nizam had with the Maharattas.

Terms were then proposed to Tippoo, who

pleaded the treaty that he had made with Lord Cornwallis; but the Governor General rose in his demands; and Tippoo, from that time, appears to have felt that his ruin was determined upon. As Tippoo, especially since the loss that he had sustained by the former war, was obliged to be parsimonious, he was not a favourite with the great men of his kingdom; those most about him were not the best qualified for giving him advice; and though he was very brave, and not without a good deal of tact in stratagems, he was exceedingly superstitious, and not capable of forming any comprehensive plan. When the English, and their ally the nizam, first entered his territory, which they did from Madras in March 1799, they supposed that Tippoo would oppose their progress; but he took the other direction, and offered some resistance to the Bombay army that had entered his dominions from the west. Seringapatam was evidently, however, the place on which he relied; and, though he appeared once to dispute the passage of the Madras army, he was repulsed, and he retired to his capital. Thence he endeavoured to make peace; but the terms were such as could not be complied with; and he waited the approach of the enemy. The fort was taken by storm on the 4th of May; Tippoo was killed,

his family captured, together with his wealth, which in money and jewels did not amount to more than one million sterling.

In the fall of Tippoo, the most formidable part of the combination which the French were supposed to be forming against the power of the British in India, was completely at an end. It was the part, too, that admitted of the greatest extent of apprehension, because Tippoo had actually sent embassies to some of the other Mahomedan courts; and from the degree of alarm and credulity that had then taken possession of the minds of men, it was easy for imagination to transform that into a general compact. But though Tippoo could not have had very friendly feelings toward the British, who had previously deprived him of half his territories, yet he appears, in that which was construed into a conspiracy with the French, to have been a dupe rather than a plotter.

The army which took Seringapatam, although of probably double the force that there was any necessity for sending against Tippoo, was yet in the utmost peril; and famine must have compelled it to retreat had the place held out only for two weeks longer. The whole exploit, indeed, appears to have been a tissue of fatalities, only Tippoo was inferior to his enemies, both in moral and physical resources.

The fall of Tippoo was immediately followed by the division of his kingdom. The British retained all the coast country toward the west, the districts immediately adjoining the Carnatic, all the forts and strong posts at the passes. and the fort and island of Seringapatam. The nizam got a portion of the Balaghaut, equal in revenue to the part taken by the British, and lying nearest to his own territory of Hyderabad; but the strong forts upon the frontier of this were retained by the British. A third portion, smaller than any of these two, and forming the north-west of the Mysore kingdom, toward the Poonah states, was reserved for the purpose of being given to the peshwa; but he did not accept the terms upon which it was offered.

But, though this division of the territories of Tippoo "did well" for the Governor General, and his ally the nizam, and though the reserved districts held out a lure for the peshwa, whenever he should be able to free himself from the controul under which he was held by Scindiah, yet it would have probably seemed too much, even in India, if the whole of the Mysore territory had been divided among the allies, in a war that, after all, had been founded only upon presumptive evidence. Therefore, it became necessary to throw in something that should, at

least, have the appearance of being an act of retributive justice. Nor was something of the kind difficult to be found. Hyder was an usurper; and as Tippoo was only the second of the race, that race was not old enough to be legitimate, unless when strong enough to wield the sword by which its legitimacy could protect itself. Maha Raja Krishna Udiáver, the descendant of the late Hindû Rajah of Mysore, was also a child of six years old; and the restoration of him to a nominal portion, at least, of that power of which his ancestor had been most unjustly deprived by Hyder, would give a power of management, as well as a colour of justice. As the rajah had not the smallest hope but through the British, of course they could impose upon him any terms that suited their ulterior plans. Purneah, the finance minister of Tippoo, who appears to have been well qualified for the duties of his office, was continued; the forts were garrisoned by troops under the management of the Company, though in the pay of the rajah; and thus the Governor General retained the real sovereignty of the country, at the same time that he had the name of having generously placed the old Hindû legitimate upon the musnud. This war, for the overthrow of Tippoo and the partition of his dominions, forms rather an epoch

in Indian history, inasmuch as it was the first that was undertaken for the purpose of acquiring territory, and without any very urgent cause, other than the fear of the French, which was then so very general in Europe; and, also, inasmuch as it was a direct violation of the act against the acquisition of territory. It was attended with success, however; and that, probably, prevented the outcry which otherwise would have been raised against it.

The portion of the spoil which had been ceded to the nizam was not destined to remain long in his possession. The restless condition of the Maharattas made all who lived near them unsafe; the nizam wanted more British troops, and the ceded countries were given over to the British in perpetuity, in consideration of the assistance so given. This took place in 1800, just one year after the partition of Mysore; and the British covenanted to repel all hostile parties that might attempt to invade the dominions of the nizam.

When intimation was given to the peshwa of the reservation that had been made in his favour, he would not comply with the terms; and that led to a second division of the reserved districts between the British and the nizam.

The easy acquisition of so much territory from the warlike Tippoo, naturally suggested the idea

that it might be acquired by easier means in other quarters; and the dread of French influence and intrigue was still an unanswerable plea with those who were in power at home. There were some Frenchmen in the Afghan territory, and the Afghan Shah had come as far as Lahore, with the intention, it was said, of subduing the whole of India Proper. A treaty against the French and the Afghans was, therefore, entered into with the King of Persia, who, if the shah should make toward India, was to waste Candahar and Cabul, in order to force him back; and, in return for this, if the French should attempt to make any landing upon the soil of Persia, the British were to co-operate in preventing them. A more obvious, though more remote cause, was found for this arrangement in the province of Oude. That province was then large; and, as it had enjoyed a freedom from invasion ever since 1765, it was rich and prosperous; but it was the frontier of the states protected by the British; as such it demanded the presence of a large army; and the stipulated subsidy was not very promptly or regularly paid.

It was proposed to the nabob that he should disband his army, and let their place be supplied by British troops, and that he should resign. He offered to do the latter in favour

of his son; but was told that a successor would not be necessary, as the Company would take the management of Oude into their own hands. At last he was compelled to give up the half of his territory, together with the tribute that he received from the state of Furrackabad on his north-western frontier, as a compensation to the Company for governing the rest of the territory in his name. Some of the more powerful zemindars, that had sovereign power within their own territory, attempted to stand out, but their forts were battered and taken by storm. The consequence of these transactions was a considerable dislike of the English name, and it no doubt led many of the natives, that would not have otherwise been so inclined, to favour the Maharattas, with whom disturbances began to break out.

This new policy was not confined to Oude: And first to lend an army for a stipulated sum, and then to assume the sovereignty, upon the allegation either that the subsidy was not paid, or the country not properly governed, now became the general practice, and was exercised toward the nabobs of Surat, Tanjore, and Arcot, all in the year 1801. There can be no question that, at this period of Indian history, the object was to make the British power as extended as possible, and that without much attention to

the circumstances that are understood to justify invasion and conquest in Europe. Still the process was not immediate dethronement There were two steps to be taken: first, the native ruler was to give up his military power, disband his own army, and depend upon troops, belonging to the Company, and of course attending first and chiefly to the affairs of the Company, though paid by the native ruler. The native ruler was also to cede lands to the Company as a guarantee for the payment of the troops. Secondly, the civil power was to be taken, together with the revenue, and the native ruler to be made a pensioner on the Company.

The effect which that, or any other territorial speculation in India, would have upon Britain, is a question of costs and returns; and that which it may have had upon the great body of the Indian population is matter of observation,—of observation, of which the one half only is seen, and, therefore, no very satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from it. The territories have, in general, been got possession of, after they have just been wasted by hostility; and therefore it is not possible but that they must improve when left at peace; but the data are wanting that would enable a fair judgment to be formed, as to whether they would or

would not have been improved faster if the Company had let them alone.

There is one very obvious tendency, however, —the one of those steps necessarily leads to the other. It does that in two ways—by destroying the power of the native governor, and augmenting the expense of the government. When the military power is taken out of the hand of a prince, the civil power is worth very little,—not capable of collecting the revenue. At the same time the expense is necessarily increased, as the army of a complete sovereign forms part of the state of his court; and, in the Indian governments, formed nearly the whole of it. So constantly has the introduction of that system been followed by a falling off in the morals of the people of India, that crime has been found much less frequent among the Maharattas, than among the people of Bengal.

When this sovereignty was grasped at by the Company, it became more desirable to extend it over the Maharatta states, than over any other part of India. Their position was in the very heart of the country; the districts which they inhabited were naturally strong; and they could descend and waste almost any part of India they pleased, unless a vigilant army was kept constantly in the field. As the more powerful Maharatta chiefs still affected

to have some sort of respect for the peshwa, it was hoped that, if he would consent to accept the fatal assistance of troops, those other chiefs would follow his example, and the power of the Maharattas would come to an end in the usual way. No means were left untried to effect that purpose; but the peshwa, though he was under the power of Scindiah, seemed to be aware that the one was but an eclipse of his power, while the other would be an extinction of it.

In 1801, however, matters rendered the chances of this a good deal more probable. Holcar, the Maharatta chief of Indore, died in 1797, leaving four sons. The eldest two could not agree about the succession, and went to Poonah for the arbitration of the peshwa. Scindiah, who had the peshwa already under his controul, thought the opportunity favourable for obtaining the dominions of Holcar. Having duped the eldest of the brothers, he murdered the other, with all his attendants. The two youngest sons espoused the cause of their murdered brother; the eldest of them was murdered at Poonah, but the youngest, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, made his escape to his paternal estates, where he raised an army. That army was, in October, 1801, beaten by Scindiah. As Holcar, though beaten, could easily, from

the unsettled state of the country, raise an army, the Governor lost no time in offering a subsidiary British force to aid Scindiah in his good cause. Scindiah did not appear to be fond of the alliance. In the meantime, Holcar, who had collected a much better army than the first, proceeded toward Poonah, ravaging the country as he went. When Holcar had advanced near to Poonah, he met and totally defeated the army which Scindiah had sent against him; and the peshwa, thrown into a state of alarm, offered to receive the Company's aid. But still the peshwa seemed to be quite aware of the condition to which the assistance would reduce him; but Holcar having advanced upon Poonah, the peshwa, being unable to make any terms with that chief, fled to Bassein, where he signed an alliance, conveying to the Company large territories upon the Tuptee and in Gujerat, and promising to have no communication with any other state but in conjuction with the Company; the Company, on their part, covenanting to place him on the musnud of Poonah.

Soon after the peshwa had made this treaty with the Company, the Maharatta chiefs prepared to ward off the blow which was thereby aimed at the power and independence of their nation. The moment that the treaty was completed, the

British armies were on the alert, and General Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) marched for Poonah with the advance of the Bengal army. Holcar retired before them; the peshwa was restated; and overtures of alliance were made by the British to Scindiah, to the Bhonsla rajah of Berar, and to Holcar. These did not succeed, and war was resolved upon.

This demanded a line of operations almost the whole way from the sources of the Krishna to the Himalaya,—as Holcar and the Berar rajah were in the Deccan, and the power of Scindiah extended from Broach, on the Nerbudda, all the way to Kumaon,—his French officers being on the Doab, having Agra and Delhi, and even the person of the Mogul, old, poor, and blind as he was, in their possession. The French officers were men of talents, but the natives under them, and even Scindiah himself, looked upon them with jealousy. Still it was necessary that the war should be carried on both in the Doab and the Deccan. General Wellesley was already in the latter; Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief, marched for the former; and the Bombay army was held in readiness to seize the possessions of Scindiah on the Nerbudda.

The first object of the northern army under Lake was to detach Perron from the service of

Scindiah, with all the power that he commanded, and money was allowed to be used for that purpose; but the Frenchman would not be bribed, though soon after he found it necessary to retire. Lake pushed on; and, after vanquishing the enemy in repeated battles, annexing Agra and Delhi to the dominions of the Company, and arranging matters for freeing the Mogul, closed a most successful campaign.

In the Deccan, the arms of the Company were equally successful. The enemy was not indeed quite so formidable as had been apprehended, as Holcar, though he had been understood to promise his aid, had not given it, and thus Scindiah and the Berar rajah were the only enemies, the former having also to bear the whole force of the war in the north. The British arms were every where successful: in India Proper, the Deccan, in Gujerat, and in the Circars. So that toward the close of 1803, Scindiah and the rajah sued for peace. The rajah was the first to accept of the terms; which enabled the British to concentrate their forces and march upon Oojein, Scindiah's capital. He was rather a better politician than some of the others; and though he was compelled to give up a great part of his dominions, unlimited power was given him over the remaining parts, as well as over the Rajpoot

princes in Ajmeer, who had, in as far as they could, aided the British, and he was to have the assistance of a British force without any subsidy.

Holcar was still in the field, though he had not engaged in hostilities; and toward the close of the year 1803, he took up a position which threatened the dominions of the Rajpoot Prince of Jeypoor, on the confines of Ajmeer and Agra, and was found endeavouring to excite some of the other rajahs against the British. He was applied to, but temporized, and made overtures to Scindiah. The instructions from Calcutta bore, however, that Holcar was an usurper; and that his dominions should be shared among the nizam, the peshwa, and Scindiah.

When instructions were given for the attack of Holcar's possessions in the Deccan, that country, partly from the effects of the devastation committed by Holcar and others in passing over it, and partly from the failure of the former year's rains, was in a state of famine, and the army could not march. The war was therefore began in the north, where Holcar was ravaging the territories of the British allies. Hence the war was carried toward Gujerat; but the British detachment in that quarter were in

want of provisions, and made a disastrous retreat to Agra, before Holcar. Holcar proceeded to Delhi, where only a small garrison had been left; but these made a gallant resistance, and at the same time another detachment had penetrated into the centre of Holcar's dominions, and possessed themselves of Indore, his capital. While Holcar continued in the north, the season became favourable for marching into the Deccan: his forts there were taken, and his power at an end.

As the Jât Rajah of Bhurtpoor was favourable to Holcar, and held the strong forts of Deeg and Bhurtpoor, General Lake took the field, and proceeded to the Jumnah. General Frazer came up with, and routed the infantry of Holcar, under the ramparts of Deeg, and that fort was taken soon after. The army then laid siege to Bhurtpoor; but it made a terrible resistance, and, after three or four attempts to storm it were repelled with great loss, the besiegers were compelled to suspend their operations. The cavalry of Holcar were, however, surprised and beaten in the neighbourhood, and the rajah, seeing the strength of his ally broken, made his peace with the Company in April 1805. A number of Holcar's chiefs having deserted, he could no longer remain in the

vicinity of the English army; therefore he retreated as far as the Punjaub: but he did not finally submit till the following year.

During the previous part of this year, Scindiah had shown hostile intentions, and had correspondence both with Holcar and with the Jât Rajah; and, had these been more successful, there is little doubt that he would have been as much an enemy as ever. Indeed the submissions which were forced upon all Maharatta chiefs could be regarded as nothing but temporizings, until time and opportunity should again enable them to assume a hostile attitude.

At home these conquests had not given much satisfaction, as, instead of revenue, which was the object and expectation of the Company, they had been productive of a very large accumulation of debt; which in India had been increased about eighteen millions and a half in the twelve years after 1793, and as the accumulation had been getting more and more rapid every year, there was no knowing to what it might have swelled. Lord Wellesley was therefore recalled; and Cornwallis, though far advanced in life, and with his health broken, succeeded. He recommended milder measures, and was in progress toward the seat of hostilities in order to carry them into effect, but he died at Benares on the 5th of October 1805, little

more than three months after his landing; and, before the year closed, treaties were signed with Scindiah and Holcar, and a general peace was established.

The state of the country during the Maharatta war, and the disbanding of the native armies, that were replaced by the subsidiary forces of Lord Wellesley, had most pernicious effects upon the internal condition of India; and though there has been no detailed account of the particulars, it is not improbable that the parts of India that were the immediate scenes of the war, suffered more than any country ever did in the same period, both in a pecuniary and a moral point of view. What with the march of hostile armies, what with famine, the Deccan had been completely wasted; and necessity had driven a great part of the people into the jungles, where they had joined the Pindarees, or predatory bands; and further accessions had been made to these by deserters from the armies. These predatory bands occupied the whole hilly country in the centre of India, though they were most numerous and formidable on the right of the Nerbudda. From the depressed condition of the native princes, they were in no condition to repress those freebooters; and as the alliance with the Company was forced, and of course one in

which they could not feel very hearty, they could not have looked with much dissatisfaction upon the inroads that were made upon the territory of the Company and their allies.

With the exception, however, of the temporary occupation of Java, no war took place till the year 1814, when the Nepâlese, having extended their conquests over the other chiefs on the south side of the Himalaya, passed the British frontier, and attacked some of the police stations. Owing to some cause or other, a powerful British army was not sent forward during that season; and the detachments found that they had a more formidable enemy in these mountaineers, than any that they had met with in the warmer parts of India. In the summer of 1815, an army was marched against them; their ablest commander was obliged to capitulate, and they were driven from all the country to the west of the Cali. The treaty was not however ratified by the rajah, who collected a large army the following year; but the advance of the British army toward the capital, procured a ratification of the treaty of the former year.

About the same time some disturbance took place among the Seik States in Delhi and Lahore, and the British station at Ludheeana, upon the Sutledj, was formed to restrain the Rajah

of Lahore, and overawe the rest into an agreement with each other.

The Pindarees too became every year more formidable in their numbers, and more daring in their conduct. In 1808, 1809, and again in 1812, they had made inroads upon the British territory, committed most cruel depredations, and collected immense booty, with which they escaped in perfect safety. To watch them was difficult, as they could reach the territories of all the three presidencies with almost equal ease; and to follow them was not of much avail. They were light, armed chiefly with long bamboo spears, and mounted upon small horses, accustomed to the wild and pathless parts of the country, and therefore safe when they reached the jungles. Those causes, and perhaps a little remissness on the part of the British authorities, who had not shown quite as much alertness in restraining these depredatory bands, as in taking power out of the hands of the native princes gave the Pindarees a great deal of boldness.

By the year 1814, those bands, of which the marauding or detached parties were called Cozauks, amounted in all to about thirty thousand horsemen, and took the side of Scindiah and Holcar, as they were, in two parties, within the nominal territory of those chiefs. In 1815,

a body of them, eight thousand strong, crossed the Nerbudda, plundered the country as far as the Krishna, and would have passed southward into the Madras presidency had they not been prevented by the flood of that river. They returned to the north by the Godavery and the Wurda; and though they came near the British positions, they passed safely across the Nerbudda, carrying with them an immense booty, of which they had taken possession in the most cruel manner—torturing the people in order to make them disclose where their valuables might be concealed, and butchering them in every case where the least suspicion was excited. The success of that expedition led them to undertake another, and they appeared in the Masulipatam district of the Madras presidency, in March, 1816. They remained in the territory of the Company for twelve days, during which time they plundered about one hundred and fifty villages, killed nearly two hundred of the inhabitants, wounded five hundred, and put three thousand six hundred to the torture.

The first attempt made against these plunderers was to hem them in by a line of forts along the Nerbudda, and across the elevated country to the east of that river. That defence they easily penetrated; and it became obvious that their inroads must either be submitted to, or an attack made upon them in their native fastness.

The former would have been compromising the dignity of the Company, and endangering the whole of its power; and so the latter was resolved upon. It was arranged that as soon as the rains of 1817 should cease, they should be surrounded.

A diversion in favour of the Pindarees was made at this time, which, though it did not prevent, yet protracted their fate. The peshwa had never been sincere in the alliance that he formed with the Company, and he sought the means of throwing it off. He was detected in forming schemes with Scindiah, Holcar, and even some of the Pindaree leaders. He had been warned of his danger, but did not alter his conduct. He kept his army encamped in the neighbourhood of Poonah, and in November, 1817, he joined them. Their first attack was upon the British residency, (the peshwa had previously attempted to get the resident murdered,) and they burnt the buildings; but were twice defeated. After this, the peshaw marched backwards and forwards till June, 1818, when he surrendered, was deprived of his power, and sent to spend the remainder of his days, and his pension, on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after this affair of the peshwa, and intended, no doubt, to be simultaneous with it, the Berar Rajah, Appa Saheb,

followed the same course, and met with the same fate, only he effected his escape. But the British placed a grandson of the late rajah upon the throne, and took the principal management of the state. Scindiah and Holcar were both humbled about the same time, the former without having taken the field, and the latter after very little resistance. The dominions of both were reduced, though as the reductions consisted chiefly in the restoration to the Rajpoots and other neighbouring princes of the lands which had been wrested from them, and on which no revenue could ever be collected without an armed force, the chiefs had a diminution of name and glory, but a considerable increase of wealth and peace. Scindiah's government was, latterly, well administered, as, in 1820, there was not a predatory band in his dominions; and his finances had so improved that, in 1827, he was able to lend half a million sterling to the Company. The Pindaree war had also been prosecuted with so much vigour and success in 1817 and 1818, that, by the end of the latter year, the whole of their chiefs were either captured or had surrendered; and the British found that conferring grants of land upon them was the best means of insuring their future tranquillity.

In noticing this period of Indian history, it would be injustice not to mention the operations of one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared in India, or in any other country—the late Sir Thomas Munro. Every man acquainted with India, must be aware that that most singularly gifted person knew more of human nature, as it exists in India, than any other man. Yet it was some time before he could get a doubtful command of some few hundred troops. With those he marched into an enemy's country, and subdued, not the armies of the rulers, for these melted away at the approach, but actually the affections of the people, who brought him supplies and recruits for his little band, and organized a police to keep all quiet in his rear—well knowing that the grand object of his march was their good.

The most recent war that has in any way altered the territories or relations of the British in India, is that with the Burmese, in the eastern peninsula. The Burmese are a people intermediate between the Hindûs and Chinese. They have more physical strength than the former, and the same boastful character as the latter. The commencement of their greatness was only about the middle of the last century; but they

extended their conquests over a number of the feeble tribes by whom they were surrounded; and they obtained a formidable name.

In 1795, an army of Burmese (they are all soldiers) entered the Chittagong district of Bengal, in pursuit of some robbers. A detachment from Calcutta marched against them, and they left the territory, the fugitives being given up to them; and this seems to have impressed them with the idea that they were the people that could drive the British out of India. The projects which they promulgated for this purpose were known; but they were in general so absurd that they were deemed undeserving of notice. About 1814, the king prepared a pilgrimage to Gaza, in Bahar, supposed to be the birth-place of Budha (the chief object of Burmese worship), at the head of forty thousand armed followers. He also sent emissaries to different parts of the Company's territories, and to places on the frontiers, to ascertain the state of political feeling among the natives. The Viceroy of Arracan went in person to Madras and Trincomalee to discover the feelings of the people in the south, and a messenger was sent to find out whether the Seiks in the north would co-operate. These embassies and inquiries were paid no attention to; and it is probable that had further aggressions not

been persisted in, they would have passed wholly unheeded.

In 1817, however, the Burmese extended their conquests across the Garrow hills, and took possession of the small states on the left of the Brahmapootra. From that position they began to threaten the eastern parts of Bengal; and though it was well known that they could never become formidable to the government, they might have harassed the people by predatory inroads. The example of the Pindarees had taught the British rulers in India, that more distress might, in a country like that which they were called upon to protect, be occasioned by a lawless enemy than by a powerful one.

In 1824 the Burmese sovereign began to make encroachments on the south-east frontier of Bengal; and as he paid no attention to the remonstrances that were made to him, war became necessary; still, not so much on account of what he himself could do, as from the effects that his example might produce in other quarters. If there had been only the armies of "the Lord of the Golden Palace" to contend with, the war would have been soon at an end; but the country and climate had to be vanquished, as well as the people; and they proved most formidable opponents. The close jungles,

the swampy soil, and the pestilential air, were far more difficult to be overcome, and far more destructive of life, than the stockades and arms of the enemy. The victory cost dear, perhaps more so than any other of the same extent and duration; but it was gained at last, and the Burmese were constrained to abandon all claims upon the small states along the Brahmapootra and the hills; and to cede to the British the provinces of Arracan, Martaban, south of the Salaen river Tavoy, including Ye, and Tenasserim, including Mergui. The following is quoted as the account of this war and its termination, as recorded in the Royal Chronicle of the Burmese:—"In the years 1186 and 1187" (of the Burmese era) "the *kula pyu*, or white strangers of the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prame, and were permitted to advance as far as Yadaboo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no preparation whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprize, so that, by the time they reached Yadaboo their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the king, who in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them

out of the country." Thus the people of the East choose to register a case, in which they were the aggressors—in which, though they fought with occasional desperation, their knowledge of the *art* of war was very limited,—and in which they were beaten, and had to give up the largest, and certainly the best part of their territory.

The brief sketch contained in this and the preceding chapters, contains an outline of the principal events of Indian history, as far as they are known. In all parts. and especially in that which relates to the conduct of the British, many things have of necessity been omitted; and some of those that are among the most interesting, have been touched lightly, because they have been often noticed. From the outline, it must be evident to every one that reflects, that the population of India have, all along, been remarkably passive to the governments under which they have served; and that there is nothing national or patriotic in their attachment, or even in their religion. Present pay or present plunder has always been the motive; with that held out to them, the country or the creed of the leader appears to be a matter of indifference; and it has not signified much whether the war has been what is called regular, or what is called predatory. All have

got troops; and when the fortune of the war has been against them, they have deserted all—left the Brahmin Peshwa just as readily as the Mahomedan or the Christian leader. Such a people are wholly unfit for being a great nation, unless they are under the direction of a people different from themselves; and, therefore, there is little doubt that, if the British authorities were withdrawn, a number of states would be formed in the course of a very short time; though whether that would be better or worse for them in their individual capacities, is a question not so easily answered.

The general opinion is, that of late years the condition of the people has been improving; and that the improvement is owing to the police and other regulations that have been introduced by the British. That they must be better than when in a state of hostility, it is natural to suppose; but we want, and never shall be able to procure, some of the data that would be absolutely necessary, before we could pronounce with certainty what has been the real effect of the British ascendancy upon the people.

What the Company may derive from India in patronage and glory, it certainly would not be very easy, and probably would not be very fair, to estimate; but the following short statement, taken from their own accounts, as laid

upon the table of the House of Commons in 1829, will shew how pecuniary matters stood in India for 1827-8; and it is altogether exclusive of the debts and establishments at home.

INDIAN ESTIMATES FOR 1827-28.

BENGAL.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure -	£11,894,282	Revenue -	£14,695,998
Interest - -	1,667,034	Commerce -	79,905
Commerce -	179,591		
		Total	14,775,903
Total charge	13,740,914		
Surplus revenue in Bengal -			1,034,989

MADRAS.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure -	5,488,208	Revenue -	5,373,756
Interest - -	177,078	Commerce -	28,459
Commerce -	21,474		
		Total	5,402,215
Total charge	5,686,760		
Deficiency at Madras - -			284,545

BOMBAY.

CHARGE.		REVENUE.	
Expenditure	3,820,013	Revenue -	2,635,023
Interest -	41,013	Commerce -	39,375
Commerce -	54,551		
			2,674,398
Total charge	3,915,577		
Deficiency at Bombay -			1,241,179

OUTPORTS.

	CHARGE.	REVENUE.
Prince of Wales' Island	195,418	000
St. Helena	119,511	000
Canton	320,761	000
Total charge	635,690	
Deficiency at Outports		635,690

Collecting these, we have—

	REVENUE.	EXPENDITURE.
Bengal	£14,775,903	£13,740,914
Madras	5,402,215	5,686,760
Bombay	2,674,398	3,915,577
Outports	*Nil*	635,690
Total abroad	22,852,516	23,978,941
Deduct revenue		22,852,516
Net annual deficiency abroad		1,126,425

This is the annual deficiency in the revenue of the Company abroad, after three years of profound peace—the Burmese war having terminated on the 24th of February, 1826; and with a debt of very nearly *thirty five millions sterling*, bearing an annual interest of more than five per cent. upon the average. The

whole of that, too, is exclusive of the debt at home, the expenses of the home establishment, and the dividends to the proprietors of stock: all of which must amount to a very large sum.

Here, though we shall not attempt to answer the question (the *onus* of that lies upon the Company), the reader will naturally put it:— "Where does this million and a quarter come from? From the sales of the cargoes outward? Not a rupee of it: these do not nearly pay the cost of the commercial establishments abroad. Nearly one half of the Company's export cargoes consist of stores for the use of their establishments; and all the rest is absorbed in the mercantile charges in the country. As for the home trade, again, the whole value for the year ending January, 1829, was only five millions five hundred and sixty-seven thousand nine hundred and five pounds, which is less than the stock upon which the Company pay their dividends; and if, conducted as the trade is, it pay the dividend of ten per cent., it must be something very closely bordering upon a miracle. From the data that are before us, we therefore may with safety state, that the loss to the Company by governing India must be at the least two millions annually, in times of

peace; while in times of war it must be just as much more as the war costs. The pecuniary profits of the establishment may, therefore, be put aside as not really forming an element at all in the question,—because they are of such a nature as not to admit of any argument.

We have said that it would not be fair to admit into any argument, the advantages—the profits, pecuniary or otherwise—that the directors and others, who have a *controul* in the affairs of India, derive from their patronage. When one sees that patronage has been the ruin of all the Mahomedan governments of India, one is not very willing to admit even the possibility of its existence, among the directors of the Company. There is also another objection to it: if we admit the patronage, we must make that the cause of the five and thirty millions of debt; and as we can hardly suppose that the patronage can have netted the half of thirty-five millions to the directors, we must conclude that, as merchants, they would not have continued to drive a losing trade. Mere ordinary men are no doubt apt to conclude that there must be some advantages beside the mere bagatelle of salary, otherwise there would not be so much scrambling

and canvassing for the directorship; but really nobody, but those who have had experience of it, can, by possibility, tell what may be the charm in the mere fact of being one of the governors of so many men.

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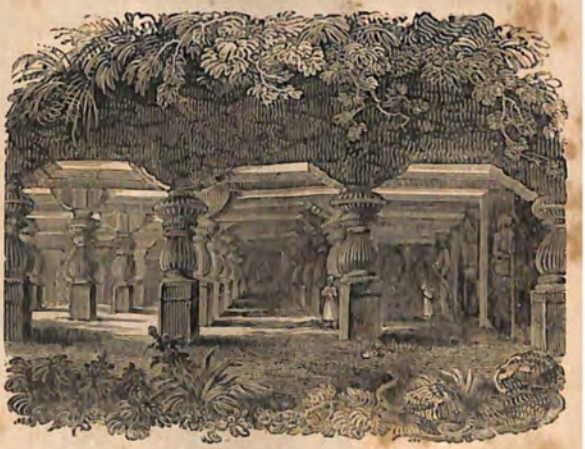
CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIVE POPULATION—RELIGION—CAVE TEMPLES.



ELEPHANTA.

RESPECTING the population of India many volumes have been already written, and many more might be written without exhausting the subject, or even making it very intelligible to

those who are familiar with man only as he exists in Europe. Among the mere men of the schools—and it has unfortunately been too obstinately the case to shut eyes and ears for the sake of a blind faith in them—the question of India has been too much of a mere party or hypothesis question. One party, from blind love of mere antiquity, have described the laws and usages of the Hindûs as the very best, just because they have existed so long; and the other have contended, as uniformly, that there can be no good for the people of India, unless they be ruled by the laws, and nurtered in the manners of Europe. Both are wrong; the permanence of customs is demonstration that they are bad,—that they destroy that spirit of emulation and enterprize by which alone a people can become great; and as man is, in all countries, the child of circumstances, and can be changed only by the gradual change of these, it follows, that the instant application of the laws and manners of England would have no more tendency to improve the condition of the people of India, than the instant application of the laws and manners of India would have to improve the people of England.

We are apt to overlook this dependence of mankind upon circumstances for all the difference which exist between them—for even the

susceptibility of being changed by education. They must absolutely be taught into tractableness; and those who have noticed the vastly greater difference that there is in getting an ignorant man to give up a prejudice, than there is in getting an informed one to alter an opinion, do not need to be told how very futile it is to attempt improving a people, who are very ignorant, by any thing that is contrary to their prejudices. Unfortunately, that has been too much the case with the British in India; and the mischief of which it has been productive has been proportionally great.

The population of India is immense. The amount of it cannot, of course, be known with anything like accuracy; but the following is probably as near an approximation as can be made.

The Bengal presidency, - -	58,000,000
The Madras presidency, - -	16,000,000
The Bombay presidency, - -	11,000,000
Total British, - - - -	85,000,000
Subsidiary and dependent, (say) -	40,000,000
	125,000,000
Outports in the Bay, &c. (say) - -	1,000,000
Total under British controul, - -	126,000,000
Independent states, but awed by the British arms, (say) - - - -	10,000,000
Approximate total, not European, -	136,000,000
Total Europeans, about - - -	40,000

About one European to three thousand four hundred natives; or where they have the whole command of the government and revenue, one European to two thousand one hundred and twenty-five natives Though distributed equally all over the country, this small number could have little or no effect upon the modes of thinking or domestic habits of the people. But they are not dispersed over the country. Three-fifths of the whole are in the army; of the remainder, the greater part are collected at the three presidencies; so that the influence of Europeans upon the great body of Indian society cannot be very sensibly felt, if felt at all. The habits of men are never influenced by names, but by the usages about them; and therefore, the influence that the Europeans have upon the population of India, may be tolerably well understood by considering what influence would be produced upon the manners of the people of Britain, by the presence of about seven thousand Hindûs in the country, four thousand of whom should be shut up in barracks, and the other three thousand dispersed, two thousand four hundred to London, four hundred to Dublin, and two hundred to Edinburgh,—where they should live almost solely by themselves, and employ only a portion of the lowest part of the people in the capacity

of servants; and that these Hindûs came not for the purpose of remaining permanently in the country, but of making their fortunes as rapidly as they could, and then retiring to spend them on the opposite side of the globe. Suppose, at the same time, that these Hindûs, while they were in the United Kingdom, should take upon themselves the civil and military government, and monopolize every office of honour and emolument,—that they should degrade the King to a mere pensionary; abolish the two Houses of Parliament and the civil courts, (there would be some room for them there, by the way, though we would not like them to fill it); put up the estates of the nobility to sale, for arrears of land tax; monopolize the inland trade, and impose what burdens they pleased;—what effect, what moral improvement, would that be calculated to produce upon the people of these kingdoms?

That country in which such a handful could do these things would be fallen indeed,—fallen so low, as that ages of the very best and mildest sway that Englishmen, or even angels, (who, by the way, have never been very good rulers, even as auxiliaries, in things temporal) could bestow upon them, would not raise them to the very faintest perception of that public feeling

which is absolutely necessary before a people can become either moral or mighty.

No matter for the enlightenment of the rulers or the ruled, the yoke of foreign bondage lies ever the heavier the more elevated the character of those by whom it is imposed, because it sinks those by whom it is borne the more nearly to the rank of merely passive domestic animals. Such a yoke may, if mild and equitable, prevent the play of the darker animal passions; but it never can inspire one manly or intellectual principle. Hounds that are duly fed in the kennel, do not worry one another for bones; but for all that, still they are nothing but dogs.

To suppose, therefore, that the mere handful of migratory Europeans that are among the millions of India can have any effect upon the intellectual condition of those millions,—above all, that it can impart to them any portion of that patriotism or nationality, or whatever it may be called, which has made the people of Europe what they are—is to suppose that which is a contradiction. The British rule exists, only because no British feeling has been inspired in the natives; and if such a feeling were to be inspired, the dominion would not last for a day.

By this it is not intended to be said that the English government in India is the worst to which the people of that country have ever been subjected. They have been under others that certainly were worse—worse, probably, than the British ever was; and there is every reason to believe that that was once a great deal worse than it is now. But still we must not delude ourselves into the notion that the people of India can ever be brought to our feeling of nationality, or to any thing that depends upon or grows out of that feeling, for the very first stirring of it would be to drive us out of the country. At the same time it does not follow that our dominion is the cause which disposes the people of India to submit to this debasing sway, (every sway that does not elevate debases,) because we could not have produced it, and also because there are evidences of its existence from the very remotest periods of history. The chief object in the making of these preliminary remarks is to show that, in estimating the character of the Indian population, British influence must be put altogether aside, and the causes sought in something older and more indigenous in the country.

Still, whatever might, in that case, be the ultimate fate of the Anglo-Indian Government itself, there is no question that if England could so

elevate the moral state of such a multitude of human beings as there are in India, (and the present number might be greatly increased), as that they should not be at once the prey of every spoiler, and instruments in the hand of every one who wishes to spoil the next district, or even their own one, it would be the most glorious achievement in the history of man; and on that account, as well as a mere feature of the portrait of India, it is desirable to look at the causes that have so long kept the Hindû in this abject state. The doing of this will be shortened, and the drawing of conclusions, which are generally a little arrogant in an author, and not over courteous to the reader, saved, by premising one or two of those general maxims, which every one knows arise out of the very nature of man, and which thus enable the reader to depend upon his own resources.

1. It will not be denied, that the most effectual way in which the talents and energies of a people can be called forth and kept alive, is to set open to them the path to honourable advancement as widely as it can be set; and that while honour or elevation already won should meet with its due respect and reward, these should be just as accessible to the next candidate, in the fair proportion of his merits.

2. That the chief reward of superior talents

and conduct, should be the offices of trust and honour in a man's native country; because the possession of these is the most exciting and gratifying to the individual, most serviceable to the state, and conduces most to public spirit and public improvement. One public servant of sterling ability and worth, is more valuable than a lac of mere conquerors, or a crore of statutes. Sir Thomas Munro, in his journeys across the Balaghaut, without a single armed attendant, produced more virtue and happiness than the conquests of Aurungzebe, or the laws of Cornwallis.

3. The offices of trust and honour in any country will always be the better filled, the wider the range of population that may aspire to them with reasonable hopes of success, if properly qualified.

4. In proportion as any great number of the people are excluded from offices of trust and honour, so must the degradation of the national character, and the quantity of vice and crime, be augmented.

5. When the national character is thus degraded, the government is both weak and expensive; and therefore the people are strongly predisposed to changes.

Bearing these in mind, let us now touch a

few points in the outline of the Indian population.

In the first place that population is made up of a number of races, in many of whose rites and observances there are shades of difference; but they stand pretty nearly all in the same relation to the government, and where they have lived long together, there have been some interchanges of customs, though nothing like a community either of manners or of observances.

Native Christians are found on the Coast of Malabar. They are partly of old importation, and partly the remains left by the Portuguese. Their whole number does not exceed two hundred thousand, and, therefore, they may be considered as having little influence upon the population.

On the west coast there are some Jews, Parsees of the ancient fire worshippers of Persia, Africans, and Arabs; but the greater part of these are employed about the coasts, and have little influence upon the population.

The Mahomedan population are pretty widely scattered over India, although much more abundant in some places than in others; and upon the average of the country these may be estimated as making from one in eight to one in seven of the whole inhabitants. There have been

a good many instances of something like reciprocal proselytism between them and the Hindûs. The lower classes of Mahomedans, instead of destroying the idols, as they did in the plenitude of their zeal and power, sometimes consult those divinities, and contribute to the oblations; and there have been instances of converts to Mahomedanism even among Hindûs of high caste. So prone, indeed, are the illiterate to follow the multitude, that even the native Christians observe some of the distinctions of caste; and yet the number of those Christians in a single small district is certainly five times, and probably ten times, as great as that of the whole European-born Christians that are scattered over India. Instead, therefore, of there being any probability that these Europeans can have any influence in changing the manners of the Hindûs, it is probably owing to circumstances that the change has not ere now been the other way. The Europeans are all persons who have got some education; they are kept aloof by their official consequence from immediate contact with the Hindûs; they are strangers, and they are, in the prime of life, more intent upon the enjoyment of pleasure and the accumulation of wealth than upon any thing else. The morning and the evening of life are the times at which changes

of creed are most generally made; and when made at any other time, they have fully as much chance of having their foundation in temporal hopes as in spiritual. Farther, the Hindûs have resisted the faith and habits of the Mahomedans, which certainly more resemble their own than those of Europeans do; and they resisted these at a time when the Mahomedans were in permanent power and splendour in the country, and when the same families of both held, age after age, the same localities, and had time to have acquired a fellow patriotism, if such had been a virtue of Indian growth. In addition to all these circumstances, the Mahomedans are still to the English as two hundred and fifty to one; and they must have been in greater numbers when they were in the height of their power. So that as, taking the whole strangers and descendants of strangers in India, they do not amount to above one-seventh of the whole population; that population must be considered as still being, and likely to be, impressed by the Hindû character, though the language of the Hindûs, and also their manners and modes of belief, vary a good deal in different parts of the country.

But, in the second place, taking all the eastern population of India,—whether from Africa or the surrounding parts of Asia; and sup-

posing that each ingredient in the mass should perform a specific effect upon the other, should we then have any more rational ground to hope for a nearer approximation to European feelings, or a greater preparation for their introduction? The page of past history, the evidence of present facts, are in the negative. Whether we turn eastward to Bûdha, or westward to the Arabian prophet, we find more physical strength under a more bracing atmosphere, and more physical daring where war and marauding are more the habitual pursuit than the arts of peace; the man who plunders the country for his dinner has always been a more daring and ferocious character than he who gives up three-fourths of his labour in order that he may live quietly upon the other fourth; and the inhabitants of cultivated districts, who have property in or on the soil, always have been, and always will be, more timid than those who have nothing but a horse and sabre, or an arm and a spear. But there is nothing of what we of Europe call virtue or principle in either; no love of country or of race—Tippoo Sultaun or Jeswunt Rao Holcar, it made little difference. The first did not hesitate to carry fire and sword into the country of the Mahomedan nizam, or the latter into that of the Maharatta peshwa. When, too, our introduction of a

system which did not suit him, and which he did not understand, had thrown the peaceable native of Bengal or Bahar out of employment and bread, he felt no more compunction at robbing and murdering than if he had been a Pindaree or a Patan.

Before we can hope that any of the native people of India can be made to be virtuous after our fashion, they must have our foundation for it. They will love their country and their government, whenever those become worth loving, and they are convinced of the fact; but they will not love either till then; and if the system toward them be the same, they will go on precisely in the same way as they have done from the beginning. There are degrees of evil, even at the most advanced parts of the scale; and there appears to be in the Hindû system something that renders man even more abject than the Mahomedan; and (which proves not much for the benefit of British neighbourhood and influence) the Hindûs of the plain of Bengal are, probably, the most abject in the whole of India—a people with more knowledge of the arts, certainly, and, therefore, better fitted for contributing to the wants of those who keep them down, than those free denizens whom we call savages, in Australia, or any where else. I shall be told, (I believe I must say *I*

here,) that the natives of Australia are without government, without laws, and without religion. But half the agony in the case of the people of India arises from their not being in the same predicament. If they could be found without religion, without laws, and without government, something might be done for them, especially by a people who are so well practised in law-making as the English. But, unfortunately, they have got those things already. As for the government—the state, by what name soever it may be called—in those parts of Asia it is despotism without alloy (I am not now speaking of the Company), and the people cannot by possibility love it any farther than they are bought and bribed to do so. But as even a good government is not a productive power, it would be strange, indeed, if a bad one were so; and, therefore, in as far as a bad government must bribe those who support it, it can have only a small portion of the people on its side, unless it carry on a system of plunder against its neighbours. That, however, is a system that never can last long; and, therefore, the usual plan is to oppress the majority of the people, in order to purchase the support of the minority. Even that is far from a safe plan, as such a government can always be overturned by much less than the

supporting of it costs. It is only buying half the supporters (generally a quarter will do, or even less) at two-thirds of the price; the people join the adventurer; and down goes the old concern. The history of India and of many other states in Asia, is one tissue of proofs of this; and we have a specimen of the bargain and sale part of it in the case of the Company, or at all events of their servants, when these first played at nabobs in Bengal.

There are other evils in a despotism of this kind: a despot can seldom get good public officers, in point of talent even, and when he does, they are apt to be dangerous to him; and when a people are exposed to continued extortion, that makes them both careless and vicious. There is always a point up to which, if a man be cheated or plundered, he will cheat and plunder; and to suppose that people will obey laws that do not protect them, would show little knowledge of human nature. The law is disliked because it is a restraint, and tolerated only because it restrains others also.

In the third place, while the governments of Asia generally, and those that have existed in India in an especial manner, have prevented all patriotism and destroyed the greater part of virtue among the people, the religions have

made as fatal an inroad upon their common sense. It is doubtful whether any intellectual religion, and certain that none that has a pure moral basis—to say nothing about one that is of divine origin—can possibly be compatible with such a depotism as destroys the love of country. A mere man, lording it in cruelty over his fellows, for no other purpose than the gratification of his own bad passions, never looks half so odious as when one thinks of the Almighty Being who made all things, for no purpose that mortal ken can penetrate, except that the creatures may enjoy themselves; and I could not easily make myself believe that any man upon whose understanding the faintest pencil of that holy light had fallen, could brook an absolute tyranny. It is often galling enough to think how sadly well intentioned men blot and mar the fair face of things, by their errors and precipitations in judgment; but if the intention were avowedly as bad as the deed, and the deed as bad as could be, the man —the nation—that would passively stand it, would shame their Maker.

As far as one can judge of the feeling by the facts, whatever the form may be, there is no religion in these cases. There is mere mummery and superstition, which, instead of elevating the mind, and leading it to virtue, becomes

a chain of ten-fold weight, in comparison with that of the mere temporal despotism.

Accordingly, in most of the religions of Asia, from that of the wandering Tartar, who performs his devotions by a tin canister turned by a smoke-jack or a water mill, on the northern Steppes, to that of the learned pundit, who rests his final hope upon grasping a cow's tail in the moment of dissolution, there is a very great deal of absurdity. It is not absurdity to laugh at; for darkening the understanding of men is far more cruel than putting out their eyes; but it is not the less absurd on that account. It has been the custom with those who have been fond of exaggerating every thing eastern, and especially every thing Indian, to descant upon the sublime doctrines and the lofty morality of the sacred books of the Asiatics. And as many of the languages are flowing, and as there seems to have been some floating fragments of a better book, known to at least some of the writers, there are sentences which, taken out of their connexion, and without the commentary that attempts to fill up the details, are well enough; but if the whole be followed out, it is generally alike offensive to propriety and decency, and seems as if it had been contrived on purpose to darken the understanding, and debase the morals.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this little work, and not very consistent with the principles either of good taste or good morals to enter into any detail of the Hindû mythologies. The sooner that all mythologies are forgotten the better; those who wish to see a pretty fair specimen may look into the first volume of "Mill's History of British India;" though the deeds of three hundred and thirty millions of divinities that have been making and mangling worlds for more years than there are grains of sand in the globe, cannot be detailed there or any where else; and so there is always room for every tale that every Brahmin, for any whim, or for a darker purpose, chooses to invent.

It has been remarked with great truth, that "when man makes a religion, he makes his god after his own image;" and, therefore, among pagans, each man has either a god for himself, or, retaining the name which is used by others, he applies it to his own form. The case cannot be otherwise. When man thinks at all, it is difficult to help thinking of the origin of the events and beings that he sees around him—his hut, his bow, his club, or whatever else he may have fashioned for his use, has, as such, an origin from him; and the changes of his position, and the operations of his life, have an origin in his

volition. Thus *causing*—making things to be and events to happen—is a subject which must force itself upon him, if the mere cravings of hunger and thirst, and the labour that he must undertake to assuage these, leave him any time for thinking at all. The mere facts of making and occasioning, are plain and simple matters, and in so far as they are concerned, all men are nearly agreed. Man cannot stop at these, however—he cannot think of the deed done, without at the same time thinking of the doer, and mode of operation. It is there that the subject necessarily appears to every man in a different light, and that no two, except the one shall agree implicitly to believe the other, without any free exercise of his own thoughts about the matter, can have the same notion either of the doer or of the deed done. Nor is it only from the different apprehension that each man must have of the doer, and manner of doing any one deed, that a difference in the imagining of a divinity will be occasioned. The different objects and different events will, of necessity, refer themselves to different actors and different modes of action; and, therefore, men must either abstain from thinking about the subjects that are most ready, after they have satisfied their hunger to think, or each man must become a polytheist, to whose pantheon

every new object or event, and consequently almost every new moment of his observation, will add a new god. Each of these gods in every man's mythology, would also be different from all in those of the others, unless some two of the observers and thinkers had consulted together. We must not, therefore, look upon the Hindûs with any scorn or feeling of their natural inferiority, because of their three and thirty crore of gods; because, if we had gone on without any other information than that which we could have obtained from our own thoughts, we should, probably, ere now, have had an equal number. When man is uninstructed by man, and has no tutor but the objects and events around him, he is no more likely to ascribe the flowing stream, and the rock round which it flows, to the same Maker, than he is to apply them indiscriminately to the quenching of his thirst. After we know differently, we think differently; but this is the natural theology of uninstructed man; and any one who has seen a child which had the misfortune (or, perhaps we should say, the good fortune) to grow up to the age of thought and reflection, without having learned other answers by rote, may have obtained from that child a portion of the very same mythology. If the idea of one god had come by the mere

perception of nature, their revelation had been in vain. Such an idea is not contained in any one mythology, the structure of which has been completed without any knowledge of Holy Writ; and be they eastern or be they western, when we follow them candidly, and without twisting them into an accordance with our system, we find that, not the Creator, but the thing created, is that to which they ultimately appeal. We must not, therefore, blame man in a state of complete ignorance for his plurality of gods, because he must either have a number, or be so lost and absorbed in the hardship of his external condition, as to be incapable of any thought further than how he is to eat, and thus have no gods at all.

But men are sociable, and unless they have some personal motive for concealing, that which occupies their thoughts will also occupy their conversation. In a discussion about the gods, those who command esteem or obedience in other matters, will be believed in that also, for the very same reason; and their gods will become the gods of all over whom their influence extends; and he who was a commander or counsellor in the chace, becomes a priest in religion.

Another step is soon taken. It is very natural to think that the man who tells us who or

what is the god, should know more about it than we do; indeed, the thought is unavoidable. New events are the subjects in which men are by nature most interested; they would have health and enjoyment; they would avoid sickness, pain, and suffering; they would live for ever; and as the experience of this world is against that, the idea of another is a very natural, and almost a necessary one. But he who makes known the gods of events, must, by obvious admission, know them better; and as the ignorant cannot have any other notion of a god than that which is, in some way or other, made up of the attributes and actions of man, it is almost a necessary belief, that the gods of events may be propitiated or offended; and that upon these the qualities of the events will, in a great measure, depend. Hence the priest is, by a natural and almost necessary inference, clothed with a certain portion of the awe and interest which men feel for the god; and we find with ignorant people, and sometimes with people not very ignorant upon other matters, that this is one of the most obstinate of prejudices.

One other step completes the system. If any man feels that any thing gives him power over another man, he immediately works it so as that it may make that power as great as possible. The curiosity, the wonder, and the

terror are worked upon by all those marvellous powers of giants and genii (for such are the gods of all pagans), and by the whole train of sorcery, witchcraft, and astrology; while the more powerful passions are influenced by the example of the gods. Hence the monstrous fables and gross impurities of the mythologies; and hence the blindness of the human understanding, at the very commencement of knowledge. Wherever the priests of an idolatry have been able to erect themselves into the sole instruc ors of the people, and the system has been long in operation, the degrading has been complete; and as there does not appear to be any country where these two circumstances have been in more perfect action than among the Hindûs, the enslaving of their minds has been probably more perfect than of those of any other people; and the system is coiled round them to such an extent, that they are hardly capable of even wishing to be delivered from it.

The practice of a religion is never better than the principles; and, therefore, that of the Hindûs gives scope to all manner of superstition and imposture. Astrology, witchcraft, and sorcery are all in full play; and there is hardly any species of crime for which a precedent may not be found, not merely in the practices

of the religion, but in those of the gods themselves.

The subject is also almost as hopeless as it is revolting; and there is really no promising way of dealing either with it, or with the great body of the Hindû population while it lasts. It is not universal, for there are dissenters and sceptics; and even the orthodox themselves are at variance as to the true interpretation of the sacred books. But religions, however absurd, are never to be attacked with violence; the pundits are so dexterous casuists, that it is difficult to argue with them; the conversion of one hundred millions of people would be a very formidable task; and even the grossest absurdities of the faith are so interwoven with the structure and habits of society, that the separation of them would be difficult, and, in any period to which one can look forward, impossible.

One of the worst parts of the religion of India is the degrading light in which it invariably represents the female character, not only in point of rights (which are a little scanty even in the codes of more enlightened nations), but in point of mind, and even of morals. Now, it accords with universal experience, that the estimation in which females are held is not only the criterion, but the cause, both of civilization and

of morality. It is a law of nature, that females can exert, both over the minds of children and the conduct of men, a more beneficial influence than can in any way be exerted by the other sex; that out of that influence springs the tree which produces all the fair fruit of family, and domestic, and kindred attachment, without which there can be no love of country and no grandeur of character; and, therefore, if there had been in the Hindû religion, and the code of laws that is mixed up with it, no plague spot but this, it would have been strong, almost overwhelming evidence, against the possibility of a very wholesome state of society existing in that country. But it is fortunate that Nature herself stands so far sentinel for Virtue here,—that, after the mere morning of the direst necessity is past, and the least glimmer of enjoyment has alighted upon man, not all the institutes of Menu that ever were written, not all the Vedas and Puranas, and priests, that ever existed, can make all or even many of the millions of husbands in India treat like mere domestic animals the mothers of their children, or cause all the tens of millions of sons to fling their aged mothers into the Ganges, even were the stream a thousand fold more idolized than it is. The number may be diminished by the cruelty of the law, and the demerit to the

legislator is not the less; but that is a case in which no legislation can utterly subdue the feelings of nature.

In the judgment of reason, nothing can be more absurd than the ablutions or purifications enjoined by the Hindû faith; and though it be very obvious to any one who is left free to form his own opinion, that they have been intended to degrade the people and keep their minds in slavery, such is the power of the Brahmins, that they are exceedingly deep-rooted and inveterate. Nothing impresses those who are incapable of forming an estimate of the intellectual nature and moral tendency of a religion, of its holiness and worth, more than the pains and privations to which those who are supposed to be deep-read in its mysteries will submit voluntarily for its sake; and nothing tends more to exalt the heinousness of mere superstitious sins over the real guilt of moral offences, than to see a man, reputed holy, laying the lash (however lightly) to his own back, at the same time that he is confessing them with rueful visage and streaming eyes. The cause is obvious: the really vicious do not punish themselves; the pilferer does not give his back a flogging; the extortioner does not humble himself in the dust by the way side; and the robber or the murderer does not court the

gallows. There are men whom all others can feel and confess to be bad; and as the good man courts and undergoes punishment for offences of which the guilt would not be at all seen if he did not proclaim it, his virtue and purity are wonderfully augmented; and that which he describes as guilt is, of course, disapproved in the same ratio. It is in this that the strength of great part of the Hindû system lies: as the votaries do their penances openly, and persevere in them to the extremity, they are really very formidable to the ignorant. They are rendered far more so by another consideration. The suffering Brahmin is himself holy. He has read the Vedas; he has meditated upon divine things; he has subdued his natural appetites, even to the extent of living a whole day upon cow-dung; therefore, he is not only fit for tasting the Amreeta cup, of which the contents were churned out of the sea by the angels, by means of the mountain round which they got the king of the serpents, and worked the brine into suds, by pulling alternately at the head and tail of the reptile, and whosoever tastes, becomes from that moment immortal; but he is in a condition for being absorbed into Brahm, and becoming part of the divinity itself. But woe to those for whom he undertakes all these vicarious sufferings! Millions of years must

their guilty souls migrate through the vilest of reptiles, before they be allowed to find rest, even in hell itself. It is in this that the mischief to the people lies. If the whole consequences of the act were confined to the devotee, Hindûs might be apt to smile at him, or at most to pity him, just as Englishmen would; but when it is done for a purpose—that of compelling them, under spiritual fears, to do that which they would not do by all the efforts of physical force, it assumes quite another character.

The cases in which those voluntary sufferings of the Brahmins, or what they may cause others to suffer, and be thereby themselves polluted, and bring infamy and disgrace in this world, and certain perdition hereafter, upon individuals, are so many, that it would be vain to attempt an outline of them, or even a specimen. Among others we may mention two, the *Khoor* and the *Dherna;* though it be but fair to notice that in those places where the British power is established, the more inhuman rites are, of late, much on the decline; and as they have never been so frequent in the parts where the Mahomedan power was never fully established, we are never sure how much of them may have been produced by the desire of the people to escape from the oppressions of their conquerors, though that desire could not have produced the whole, or

even have had any effect in the production of those that we are about to notice, as the threats held out by them could have had no effect whatever upon the followers of the prophet.

The Khoor was an incantation, by which it was intended to resist the real or supposed extortion of the government in collecting the revenue or rent. The Brahmins, after the proper ceremonies, make a pile of wood, of a circular form, upon the top of which they place an old woman, or a cow, according to the desperate nature of the case; the last, in consequence of the sacred character of the animal, being used in the extreme cases. They then surround the Khoor with lighted brands or torches; and if the party proceeds to levy the demand, against which they are performing the Khoor, they light the pile, and the sacrifice is completed; and if the aggressor be a Hindû, the retribution to him is terrible. There are not many instances of the performance of this ceremony noticed by Europeans; most likely because the districts with which they have been longest acquainted have been under Mahomedan collectors.

The Dherna, though now forbidden in the British parts of India, was a more singular exhibition; and as it could only take place, or at least be heeded, as between Hindû and Hindû, it was much more frequent. There is little

question that it originated with the Brahmins, because, whether it be done for their own benefit only, or they be hired to do it for another, they have always a profit by it; and it is done in perfect safety. The common occasion of it is, or rather was, for the recovery of a debt, by a more certain and summary process than that of the courts of law, and sometimes for sums that could not be recovered in those courts, though as to the justice of the latter case, the pundits were not altogether agreed.

Dherna means destitution, or woe, and implies as much as that the creditor must perish if the debt be not paid. The Brahmin comes, and, watching an opportunity when the debtor is at home, seats himself down at the door, armed with a dagger in the one hand, and a vial of poison in the other; taking care that, if possible, his victim shall see him. The dagger and the poison are not for the debtor, but for the Brahmin himself, who would instantly swallow the one, and plunge the other into his breast, if the debtor should offer to escape from the house; and having occasioned the death of a Brahmin is a crime for which there is neither forgiveness nor expiation. The Brahmin fasts; and to eat while a Brahmin is in dherna, is just the same as to kill him; so that the debtor has no alternative but to fast also. Even then, it

is no wager of starvation, in which the debtor has any thing like fair play. He himself may die like a dog, as he is; but not so if he should outstarve the Brahmin. That would still be the same; and, therefore, the debtor has no alternative left but to pay, or be starved to death, under the horrible thought that, before he can by possibility escape in that way, he may have incurred the pains of everlasting damnation. The old English plan of pressing to death with a stone those who would not plead in the courts of justice, was savage enough; but it wanted the eternal terrors of the dherna.

There is only one way in which the eternal part of the dherna can be got rid of; and that is, by the wife of the party that causes the Brahmin's death, whether by poison and steel, or by starvation, becoming a *suttee;* that is, burning herself voluntarily upon the funeral pile of her husband. The anxiety which the sacred writers of the Hindûs shew to have all widows perform that most barbarous rite, to enforce it as duty, and to encourage the performance by the highest temptations of future felicity, which the most extravagant fantasies of their mythology can hold out, is a proof of how much study they devoted to every means of degrading the human mind. "The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's

corpse, shall equal Ahrundhati, and reside in the Swerga; accompanying her husband, she shall reside as long in Swerga as there are thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body." The promise, after all, is but a doubtful one, as the thirty-five millions of hairs is rather beyond the actual number; but still the promise is artfully put, as nothing could be more fascinating to a woman who had had any attachment, than the prospect of living with her husband in heaven, for a period that had so long a number in it. That she may make sure of finding her husband there, it is further declared, that "As the snake-catcher forcibly draws the serpent from his earth, so she, bearing her husband from hell, shall with him enjoy the sweets of heaven, while fourteen Indras reign. If her husband had broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, or killed a Brahmin, she expiates his crime."

Of the mortifications to which the fakirs voluntarily submit, enough may be found in any of the common books; and the characters of all the penances are equally remarkable for their cruelty and their absurdity. The descriptions in the books of the Hindûs are not, however, to be taken quite in a literal sense, inasmuch as hyperbole and exaggeration are the characteristics of Eastern language. Still there is quite

enough of truth to make them very revolting to strangers, and very debasing to the minds of the people among whom they are practised.

Difficulty and danger in the performance are, indeed, the chief recommendations to any religious ceremony with the Hindû. The splendid temples which are excavated out of the rocks at Elephanta, Elora, and several other places, have not much of sanctity about them, though there are a few Brahmins at most of them. The temples of the Jains, in the south and west of India, are of better architecture.

Besides the daily prayers and other ceremonies, and the days of fasting, of which there are many in the year, pilgrimages to holy places, form a great part of the ceremonial of the Hindû faith. The places of these were usually those that were the most inaccessible; such as mountain tops, hot springs, cascades, caves, the junctions of rivers, and wild and pestilent places by the sea-shore. The multitudes that throng to some of these places are immense; and there are still instances of self-immolation, though they are not so numerous as formerly, and probably the former accounts were exaggerated.

Of those holy places, the most renowned is Juggernauth, though it is mean, filthy, and desolate, and the idols are remarkable for their ugliness. Juggernauth, which means "the

Lord of the World," and is one of the thousand names of Vishnû, in the avatar or manifestation of Krishna, is situated on the sea coast of the Cuttack district of Orissa, rather more than three hundred miles south-west of Calcutta. The gods, on whose account the place is so sacred and so much resorted to, are, in reality, two princes of the Oude, Bali Rama and Krishna, the two conquerors, and Subhadra, their sister. But the two brothers are identified, Bali Rama with Siva, and Krishna with Vishnû; and the sister is identified with Cali Durga, the female power or energy of Siva. This practice of identifying the divinities with persons whom we may suppose to have been real, is not uncommon in India; but whether it has been assumed by them when alive, or imputed to them after time had seasoned their memories, is not known. The gods themselves are, indeed, only personifications of the different energies of Brahm; and the ministering brahmins, though not very willing, and in all probability not very able, to give minute details of the mysteries of Juggernauth, say that it is really the invisible Brahm that is worshipped there; and that the idols are made ugly on purpose to frighten men out of their sins. The sanctity is very great, however, as any Hindû who eats of the food which is cooked for the

idols, is absolved of every sin, even from that most terrible of all sins, the killing of a cow.

These idols are merely wooden busts, like a human head on the top of a pillar; and they are very rude, as well as very ugly. The female deity is without hands or arms, but the males have a sort of arms that stick forward from their ears; and upon days of procession, after Juggernauth has been seated on his car, gilt feet, ears, and hands, are added to him. Siva is daubed over with dirty white paint, Juggernauth with dark blue, and Cali Durga with yellow. Besides those three principal divinities, spaces are allotted within the sacred enclosure for any other, so that any Hindû may meet with the favourite object of his worship at Juggernauth. The lord of the world is very accommodating too; for though the place and the worship be especially his, he most obligingly allows his elder brother Siva to lead in the procession. The officiating priests show their wisdom in that arrangement, as the worshippers of Siva are more numerous than those of Krishna. The number of pilgrims that resort to Juggernauth fluctuates; being sometimes less than forty thousand, and at other times more than one hundred and thirty. The spectacle is a source of revenue to the East India Company, who probably make about

one thousand pounds a year of it, but it is very much on the decline. Indeed it seems that, being known generally, even by the Hindûs, is a sure means of destroying the sanctity of a place; and there is little doubt that the foolery of Juggernauth (for it is at least a most egregious piece of foolery) will diminish farther under the perfect indifference of the English, than it did under the continued persecution of the Mahomedans. These at first endeavoured to put down the rites, but they never could succeed, as the devotees carried off and concealed the idols. A tax was then adopted which was continued as well by the Maharattas as the Mahomedans, and it is from that tax that the British revenue arises.

It must be admitted that the exhibitions at the festival are a degradation to human nature. Setting aside the deaths by the car, which have probably always been more accidental than any thing else, the whole is a monstrous absurdity. The chief honour of the sacred caste consists in begging; and they address themselves to the pious by all the absurdities of voluntary infliction. One lies for the whole day tied neck and heels with a pot of fire on his stomach; another takes the opposite ordeal, and lies prone in a puddle of mud and water; a third buries himself in the sand; a fourth

lies stretched on the surface, with his mouth and eyes crammed full of the most offensive substances; and a fifth stands the whole day on his head, with his feet upwards in the air. It is hardly possible indeed to imagine an attitude, or an operation too absurd for being the favourite mode by which some one shall demonstrate his sanctity,—or rather show to what a low ebb the human mind may be reduced by superstition.

The object of all this mummery is begging; and in addition to mummery, the whole arts of priestcraft are put in requisition, so that the quantity of alms collected when the attendance is great, is really immense. The gifts which are made by pilgrims are, indeed, the chief support of the town, which contains more than five thousand houses, most of them inhabited by ecclesiastics or teachers of the mysteries of Juggernauth; and the Rajah of Khoordah, a neighbouring pergunnah, is high priest of the great temple. When the processions are to take place, the cars are brought in front of the temple, those of Siva and Juggernauth being forty feet high, but very clumsy,—the principal ornament of the latter being a piece of English broadcloth, the gift of the Company. The idols appear to be brought out for execution, rather than homage, as the priests

drag them along by ropes about their necks, while the people utter the most discordant yells, and perform the most ridiculous and indecent gesticulations, and the pious beggars wallow more deeply in the mud and filth, and beastify themselves with more unclean substances than ever.

When they are seated on the cars, the rajah proceeds to sweep the way, and the people seize the ropes, and drag on to the country palace. It is said, however, that this labour is performed more for amusement and for keeping up the resort to a place which is naturally so unproductive that but for the pilgrims it could not be inhabited, than for any religious love of it; and also that as many are drawn to Juggernauth by the indecency as by the sanctity. As a spectacle it certainly displays nothing that can captivate a mind even in the very rudest state of thought; and that may be one of the reasons why the food cooked for the idol is so very holy. It must be presented before it can be dressed; a small part only is dressed; and as it pardons every sin, and may be eaten by the lowest of the regular castes, it must be admitted that the priests of Juggernauth have taken the most effectual means for bringing offerings to their temple.

In the architecture of Juggernauth there is

just as little to admire as in the statuary and the rites. The temple is large, but has no claim even to very ordinary elegance. The external part is a square inclosure, of a strong stone wall, six hundred and fifty feet in the side, and having a principal gate on the east, guarded by two large but ill formed griffins, and the statue of Hûnimaun, the monkey general of the two brothers. From this gate a broad flight of steps leads up to a terrace, twenty feet higher than the entrance, and four hundred and forty-five feet in the side. Two apartments lead from this to the sanctuary, which is a clumsy tower, having a base of thirty feet square, and a height of one hundred and eighty feet above the terrace. The two brothers and the sister occupy this sacred retreat; but as many of the other gods of the country as there may be room for are admitted within the inclosures. The great object of the priests at Juggernauth seems to be to attract persons of all the faiths of India, and also of all the degrees of morality, as vice is just as much tolerated as heresy. And yet the high priest of the place is a sovereign prince, and the whole of the priesthood and the ridiculous beggars that have been mentioned, belong to that class, which, unless at such a place of alms-giving as Juggernauth, the great body of the people are not so much as allowed

to approach. When holy men are allowed to do these things, and become the more holy for the doing of them, when they arrogate to themselves all honour, and forbid it to the rest under the pain of damnation,—in more ridiculous but certainly not on that account, less alarming forms than are to be met with in any other superstition, we may cease to wonder at the condition of the people, or at their passiveness under conquest. Of some of the institutions of India, of which, from the names, we would be apt to form much more lofty notions than of such a place as Juggernauth, the real application is to the full as ridiculous. Surat, on the Tuptee, was one of the largest cities of India, of great antiquity as a place of commerce, and it still contains between one thousand and two thousand inhabitants, and has a considerable trade in cotton-wool. Well, if the "merchants' hospital" in a European town, of one tenth the size were mentioned, the idea with which one would be impressed would be that of a school for the young, or an asylum for the aged. But the Banyan (merchants') hospital of Surat, is no such thing. It is, or at least was, at the time of the latest accounts, none of which are, however, very recent, a receptacle for animals including the most loathsome vermin, which were nursed, fed, and protected

there with the greatest care, while, in all probability, the nearest relatives of the parties were in a state of the greatest privation. It would be easy to multiply facts, but these must suffice; and without any of the colouring that is usually thrown over them, they do establish a very strong case against the Hindû faith.

Nor have we any good ground for supposing that the worship has been at any time more rational, or calculated to have a better influence upon the minds of the people, than at present. The worship of Juggernauth is anterior to the time of the Mahomedans, or to the presence of any conqueror in the country of whom we have even any tradition, except Juggernauth and his brothers. The present temple of Juggernauth was finished in the year 1198, just four years after Delhi had yielded to the Mahomedan yoke, and they did not extend their power over any part of Orissa, till nearly four hundred years afterwards. They did not even then conquer the high priest of Juggernauth, who remained independent among his rocks, his bamboo jungles, and his pestilent atmosphere, until he yielded to the British in 1804.

The cave temples in the west of peninsular India form a sort of anomaly among their religious edifices; and would, were it not that the idols are decidedly Hindû, lead one to sup-

pose that they had been constructed by a strange people, perhaps, from Egypt. Estimating them by the mere labour that their excavation must have cost, they are entitled to rank among great works; and some of the carvings upon them are by no means destitute of taste. Those cave temples are mostly confined to a small district; the isles of Elephanta and Salsette in the harbour of Bombay, and Elora and Carli, above the ghauts, in the province of Aurungabad. Of these perhaps the most splendid is at Elephanta, though the excavations in some of the other places are more numerous. They partly belong to the Budhists, and partly to the Brahmins; with the latter Siva is the favourite; as though the great idol at Elephanta contains all the three manifestations of Brahm, Siva is most frequently repeated, and he appears with the symbols of his leading attributes—the serpent as eternal, the skull as the destroyer, and the infant as the reproducer. Laborious as the excavation of those caves must, however, have been, they have no sanctity, and hardly any legend but their imaginary date; so that by whoever they may have been constructed, the work must have been one of mere local ostentation; and in no way connected with the general religion of the country. It would, indeed, have been

singular had the case been otherwise. Where consecration is performed by smearing with cow-dung, it would be wonderful, indeed, if any thing splendid had been rendered necessary in the temple. The rude tower, the wooden blocks, and the lumbering cars at Juggernauth are much more consistent with the ritual of the Brahmins; and they conspire with that ritual in constraining one to believe that either the system had been the natural state of men in a very rude age, or that it had been artfully intended to keep the minds of the people in the most grovelling state.

CHAPTER VII.

CASTES AND DIVISIONS—LAWS—TENURES—AND HABITS.

PLOUGHING.

If we had no farther knowledge of the matter than the mere saying, we would be very apt

to doubt the possibility, not only that the absurd ceremonies of the Hindûs could have remained in existence even from the time of the building of the temple of Juggernauth, but that they should have existed at all. But there are corroborating circumstances; and even if there were none, there remains enough of absurdity (not in the religion, but no thanks to man for that) in the laws of England to show with what passiveness even very well informed nations will submit to very ridiculous and oppressive measures, if they have been established for ages. There seems to be in human nature a facility for being tempered to custom, as it is to climate; and provided that it has been the practice among our fathers, and we have been habituated to it from our earliest infancy, we do not easily see the absurdity, or even feel the pressure. And, within certain limits, the principle is a good one, and is the foundation of all society. Were it not for that, every man's hand would be against his neighbour, and there would be nothing but strife in all societies, even the very best informed. The number that live by reason is always but a small minority. The greater part have no guide arising out of themselves, but their passions; and were it not that these are controlled

by imitation, the world would be very turbulent, and very wicked.

But, like all other principles that are good in measure, this may be converted into an evil of the first magnitude; and that which, properly used, would surely lead man onward to improvement, may be so perverted as to chain him down where he is, and prevent him from moving at all.

That has been most fatally the case with the Hindûs; and has been so from the very earliest period at which we have any information respecting them. It is as difficult to trace the origin of the division of ranks, or *castes*, as the Europeans have styled them, among the Hindûs, as it is to find out why any god should be pleased with a man for cramming his mouth with straw and his eyes with dust, or standing idle and useless upon his head from morning till night, or broiling himself among fire pans under a Bengal sun—ay, or wearing an iron girdle round his body, or walking with peas in his shoes to the chapel of our Lady of Loretto. Those who have learnt to form an intellectual notion of the deity, never can understand how these foolish fancies originate, and would question the possibility of them, were it not that the proofs are irrefragable. But the proofs are so; and the evidence of history is

also strong to prove that when men do believe those absurdities, they can always very easily be made to believe, or practice, any other absurdity that can be grafted on the same foundation.

One of the most common of these addenda has been a division of ranks, not founded upon the natural and moral differences of men, which necessarily produce a division of that kind, in the more active and refined, as well as in the ruder states of society; but a superstitious distinction, without any natural or moral cause. A distinct priesthood, not of men educated for the sacerdotal office, and on that account presumed to be of superior learning and endowments, but hereditary holy men, whose sacred characters could not be even stained, by the crimes of which when other men are guilty, they are either expelled from society, or rendered odious in it, is, as has been said, the form under which this additional superstition finds the most profit in showing itself. With the exception of christianity, this has been the case with all the religions that ever were professed; but in no case has it been carried to such a length as among the Hindùs; for there it descends to the bottom of society, and may be made so to operate even upon menial servants, as to drive them into the woods, like wild

beasts; and thus, while there are jungles and fastnesses in the country, keep up a continual succession of outlaws and robbers.

The Hindûs have, from the first accounts that we have of them, been divided into castes; and probably, though the ancients had not the same familiarity with them as the moderns, into outcasts, or those who had broken the rules of the castes and formed no part of society.

The original castes of the Hindûs are four; *Brahmins*, or priests—not necessarily all priests, indeed, but being all holy, and having all the priests of their caste; *Cshepterees*, or warriors and rulers, though inferior to Brahmins, even if the Cshepteree were an emperor, and the Brahmin a beggar; *Vaissyas*, who are to find the necessaries and comforts of life, to cultivate the ground, to carry on trades, and transact business as merchants; and *Sudras*, who are to labour, and perform all manner of menial drudgery. Each caste is divided into a number of classes, which, though they have the general privilege, or want of privilege, that belongs to, and is characteristic of the caste, have certain adjunct peculiarities of their own; and in addition to these, there are many varieties of impure caste, or of those who have no caste at all. It would not accord with our

limits to notice all, or indeed any of those subdivisions in detail; and it is not necessary for our purpose; for, the single fact of the castes, and the possibility of losing caste, without the necessity of any thing that can morally be regarded as a crime, are quite enough to shew that the construction of Hindû society is decidedly calculated to debase the character of the people.

The origin of those castes is quite in accordance with the origin of other things, as stated in the sacred books of the Hindûs. Brahma, at the same time that he produced the Vedas out of his mouth, produced the Brahmins out of the same orifice, in order that those books might not want interpreters. That these again might not be at a loss for protection, or subsistence, or service, he produced the Cshepteree from his arm, with strength to wield the sword, the Vaissya out of his thigh, with industry and skill to prepare the productions of the earth for the use of the Brahmin; and the Sudra out of his foot, that they might not be above the meanest offices.

Absurd as this account of the origin of the four principal castes is, it is necessary in order to give permanence to the institution, as no basis but a religious one could possibly sustain such a structure. Whether the original

contriver had meant so or not, it is also well calculated for keeping up the influence of the Brahmins. The chances are that, from the provisions that are made for the losing of caste, the Sudras and outcasts shall always be more numerous than all the others; and that thus the proportion of the people that hold all the others in subjection, shall be very small.

The Brahmin is lord of all the other classes, —standing, as it were, intermediate between them and the gods. He is the fountain of divine knowledge, and divine favour. All the other classes may not even read the sacred books; those books are so contrived, that the reading of them without an explanation is of very little use, and the interpretation belongs to the Brahmin alone. In like manner, the gods are as indifferent to the fate of the rest of mankind, as they are to their instruction; and thus were it not for the intercession of the Brahmin,—and he is under no obligation to intercede, unless he be duly honoured and rewarded for it, —the rest of the people would be overwhelmed by misfortune, and perish in sin.

The Brahmin is thus an object of adoration. His vices do not much affect his sanctity, and as his wisdom and power are intuitive of the caste, and not of the man—illiterate he is wise, and feeble he is powerful. Even the gods

themselves are in so far dependant on the Brahmin. It is natural, therefore, that he should be absolved from the ordinary ties and duties of man. Honour the king is the commandment in more rational faiths; but the law of Menu demands that the king shall honour the Brahmin—that reverence to that sacred persons shall be his first and most binding duty. The Brahmin is also armed with extraordinary powers, whereby he can maintain his own dignity. He has power over whomsoever he may consider his enemy, even though that enemy be the most powerful monarch; and as it would not be quite safe for the Brahmin to give him merely physical power, in which others might be a match for him, the power with which he is invested is mystical. He can by his incantations destroy the most numerous and best appointed armies. Those who do not reflect may be very apt to think, that this belief could not remain in a country where Brahmins and those whom they supported have been beaten so often and so easily; but nothing is more natural than for ignorant people to believe in the power of enchantment. The Brahmins, who are the teachers of the people, studiously keep them from making any inquiry or observation into causes and effects, and nothing but a knowledge of these can prevent that which is

the foundation of all belief in sorcery,—the supposition that all events, however trifling, are produced by supernatural agency. It is not very long since the learned and the royal in Britain avowed this belief—wrote about it, and acted upon it; the illiterate have a good deal of it still; and even those who have got a great deal of the external forms of instruction have remains of it, and, were it the fashion, would be open believers still. There is no means of getting rid of that superstition, but by a system of vigorous thinking; and as even the learning of the Brahmins, however cunning it may be in hoodwinking men for the purposes of delusion, has nothing of philosophy in it, there is no doubt that the Brahmins themselves believe a great deal of the fooleries they inculcate. We are sometimes apt to give the priesthood of a superstition credit for a great deal more wisdom and sagacity than, in the nature of things, they can deserve. Men really cannot deal in superstition as a trade, without being superstitious themselves; and there is no doubt that the Brahmins believe the fooleries that they teach. Their purpose, to the rest of the people, no doubt, is an intention to deceive, for that must be the basis of the instruction of such a priesthood, otherwise their system could not

last; but there is just as much reason to believe that they are themselves the dupes of the system. If they were not, they would not submit to martyrdom for it, or to those rites that are more degrading to human nature than any martyrdom. We may rest assured, that if the majority, or even any considerable part, of the Brahmins, were convinced that their system were a delusion, it would not last long. Among us in the west, it was the priests who were the active reformers of religion; and if there were to arise a few Luthers and Knoxes among the Brahmins, we should soon see reformation in India.

The chances are against their appearance, however. The honour and power which they possess as Brahmins, and without anything in office or acquirement upon which to ground these, are as powerful a fetter upon the minds of the Brahmins, as the divisions of castes are upon the rest of the Hindûs. But lest the merely mystical superiority should not have been sufficient, there are many personal privileges and immunities in supplement. The slightest offence offered to a Brahmin is a serious crime; and if the lower castes shall dare to speak harshly to him, or even sit upon his carpet, they are subject to the most dreadful punishments. No crime of which a Brahmin can be guilty, can

affect either his life or his goods; a king, even though dying of want, must not tax him; he must be the interpreter of the law (which is all so contrived that it needs interpretation), and neither the subordinate magistrate nor the king, can administer it in any other way than as the Brahmin directs. The acquisition of wealth is rendered much more easy to the Brahmin than to anybody else. If he borrows money, he, by law, pays only one per cent. per month; while a Cshepteree pays one and a half, a Vaissya two, and a Sudra five. If he finds that which belongs to another, he is allowed to keep five-sixths of it; whereas a person of any other caste who finds even that which is his own, must give a part of it to the Brahmin as having sent him the good luck. Giving to the Brahmin is a duty inculcated upon all occasions; and with him beggary is an honour; he is too sacred for working for his bread. Thus beggary is inculcated among the Hindûs, inasmuch as he who subsists wholly by that means, and has not one endowment or virtue to recommend him, is more honourable than any other man can become by the most honest and assiduous use of the first rate abilities. This beggary is kept continually before the eyes of the people, because their worship is a continued performance of rites, and a part of every rite is an

oblation, which goes to the Brahmins, or in part to the females of abandoned character that are very often kept in or about the temple, in order further to increase its sanctity.

Had the Hindû religion no more influence upon their modes of life than has been already stated, it is easy to see that it must destroy all the better parts of the character. But it goes farther: the privileges of the Brahmins chain down the people *en masse;* and the regulation of the other castes, destroy that power of combination by which they might be enabled to react against their tyrants.

The Cshepteree, though far below the Brahmin, and unable to rule or understand the law, without the council and interpretation of the Brahmin, is yet so much elevated above the other castes that they must approach and look upon him with the most profound reverence. As this caste formed the fighting men under the regular Hindû governments, the two industrious castes of the people were under military as well as sacerdotal despotism. The monarch may raise for their support what revenue he pleases at the advice of the Brahmin, provided no part of it is paid by the Brahmin himself. The burdens and punishments to which this military caste are liable, are heavier than those that fall upon the Brahmins, but

they are not so heavy as those that fall upon the two lower castes.

The Vaissyas are not quite so much below the military caste, as that caste is below the Brahmins; but the Sudras are at an immeasurable distance below even the Vaissyas. The most remarkable characteristic of that unfortunate caste is that they are not to be taught, or to acquire property. That is the law, but it is plain that it cannot be in all cases obeyed; and the number of impure castes, and persons who have no caste, are so very many, that even a Sudra is far from being at the bottom of society: while the sacred Brahmins themselves are found serving in the ranks of the Anglo-Indian army as private soldiers.

Of acknowledged impure castes there are about six-and-thirty. Some of these are so utterly vile, that their shadow pollutes that over which it passes. Even the Sudras are prohibited from prying into the mysteries of religion. "If," say the laws, "a Sudra reads the Vedas, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears: if he gets them by heart, he shall be put to death;" and yet those Vedas contain a portion of the law by which the conduct of this very Sudra is to be regulated. The subdivisions of the Sudra caste arising from occupatic and other circum-

stances are very many, and they are in some cases, as in that of the Nairs in Malabar, the chief proprietors of the soil.

Those who are fond of making theories, and never look at the facts around them, are apt to see in this subdivision of the working classes of India, and restriction of them to the professions of their fathers, some advantage to the arts. This was once the general opinion among the school historians (not those who compiled school books, but those who studied human nature in the closet); but it is contrary to experience, and contrary to what sound theory would point out. Among us the eminent in the arts are usually originals; and though it does sometimes happen that the son, following the same profession, is superior to the father, the reverse is so much more frequently the case, that inferiority in the son is the rule, and superiority merely the exception. Why the opinion should ever have been held, and why it should be held even now by some who write sensibly enough upon other matters connected with India, it would be of little consequence to inquire. It is enough that it is a fallacy, as every thing must be that tends to force men to do that, in the way of profession, which may be contrary to their inclination.

We cannot better close this short sketch of

the Hindû castes than by a slight notice of the order in Malabar. The chief distinctions there are Brahmins; Nairs, soldiers, or proprietors of land; Tairs, cultivators; Mulears, musicians, and conjurers; and Poliars, or labourers. The first three are freemen: the last are slaves, bound to the soil. The following are their respective distances:—1st. From a Brahmin: a Nair, beside, but not touching; a Tair, thirty-six yards off; a Mulear, about sixty; and a Poliar, ninety-six. 2nd. *From a Nair: a Tair*, twelve yards off; a Mulear, about sixteen; and a Poliar, ninety-six. 3rd. From a Tair: a Mulear may be beside, but must not touch; and a Poliar, sixty yards off. 4th. A Poliar must not come near a Mulear, or any of the others, but must keep his distance, and cry aloud to them. And yet even the Poliar is a sort of gentleman, as compared with a Pariah, or impure person. These Pariahs are out of the pale of society altogether; they eat carrion and even beef, which last is a deadly sin. They live in the woods, in a state of the greatest privation.

There would be no end, however, of tracing the effects which the distinction of caste produces upon society in India. They are every where strange enough, and they are very varied. The same caste is far from being a

general body all over the country; for there are such degrees of sanctity among even the Brahmins, that those of one place would be defiled by associating with those of another; and the Brahminical religion is farther confounded in some places with that of the Budhites and Jains, and the mountaineers, who do not set much value upon the forms of any of the regular religions, as they are in all probability remains of races anterior to the Brahmins, augmented in number by those who have either lost their caste, or been driven out of society by oppression.

Of the Hindû law it is hardly possible to give a sketch that can be intelligible. It is in a great measure founded upon their religion and upon caste; the penal portion of it is peculiarly cruel and inhuman; and there are many more forms of trial by ordeal than there were in Europe, even in the dark ages. Perhaps no code of laws is intelligible without interpretation, even to the people among whom it is administered; certainly the law of England is not; and it would be too much to suppose that the law of the Hindûs could be much better. In as far as the ancient law of the country is considered, the Brahmins are, as has been said, the interpreters; and therefore it is not to be supposed that any stranger can

understand it. There have been translations of some of the books, and also compilations; but, as much of the law of every country is founded upon usage, those translations cannot be supposed to give a more clear or comprehensive view of the real administration, than a translation of the English statute book would give of the practice of the English courts. But, uninformed as Europeans must necessarily be in the nature of those laws, it is by them that private property and private misunderstandings and disputes are still regulated in India. Though in the repeated conquests of that country, army has fought with army, just as in other places, the labouring classes have not been altered. The conquerors, whether Asiatic or European, could not have subsisted upon the land, and paid the same revenue to the state out of its produce as was paid by the Hindû, and therefore they must always have felt it their interest to leave the people to cultivate the lands. Those people had another protection: they seldom had much that was worth plundering; and their houses are of a kind that are easily rebuilt; so that though they were scattered during the inroad, many of them killed, and others starved in the jungles where they took refuge, what remained of them when the storm was over, returned to their old lands, and it was the interest of whoever might

hold the throne, not only to allow the labourers to re-occupy the fields, but to order that, for the more easy and abundant collection of the revenue, the old head man, or potail, should have controul of the village. Indeed, so well were the Mahomedan conquerors aware that the country would thrive best, that is, yield the greatest revenue, with the smaller details of civil regulation in the hands of the Hindûs, that they not only permitted them to hold these, but even many of the more important civil offices immediately connected with the empire. They saw the power which religion, caste, and the laws and customs connected with, or growing out of these, had upon the people, and they contented themselves with the royal revenue, and the military power and pomp, leaving the minor details just as they found them.

The whole system of Hindû government was founded upon the government of one village; and there was built upon that a succession of despotisms, each waxing greater and greater, till it arrived at one of the greatest of the native kings, or even of the Mogul Empire under Aurungzebe himself. If an accumulation of small states took place, a portion of revenue was taken from the chiefs or rajahs of the smaller ones of which that was made up, and they were at the same time freed from

that part of their expense which consisted in the keeping up of a military establishment. And when, on the other hand, a large kingdom was broken up, the small rajahs got the whole of the revenue, and with that the expense of defending the country. By the laws of Menu, the lowest of these feudal chiefs was the lord of one town or village, the next the lord of ten, after that the lord of twenty, then the lord of one hundred, and, lastly, immediately under the king, the lord of a thousand. All these formed a regular succession: the King, *vi et armis*, if necessary, forced out of the thousand-village viceroys, the greatest sum that he possibly could; and, from the very nature of the case, he must have been in a condition for enforcing that, or enforcing nothing. There can be no love in such a society, because there is no reciprocity; therefore the viceroy of a thousand towns would be a king himself in every instance where the sword did not hinder him. When it did, his only way of getting a revenue would be to squeeze out of each of his ten lords of a hundred villages, as much more as ever he could than the king had squeezed out of him; and therefore unless he had force enough for coercing all the ten at the same time, they would have been kings themselves, and he would not have existed.

Each of the ten would have to squeeze an additional sum out of his five chiefs of a score of villages, and could not get it without the power of coercing them. The lord of twenty must have been able to do the same for each of his two lords of ten; the lord of ten for each of his two lords of one; and if he had not been able to do that, the lord of a single village would have been "every inch a king." Therefore, in order to keep the system at work, there must have been, for the certain collecting of the revenue alone, not only six standing armies, each able to coerce the people; but six, of which the first and weakest was able to do that, and each of the others increasing in power as the ultimate musnud was approached. Such a system could not have been carried to any very great extent, and that is probably the reason why the native kingdoms of India, were so small and so easily overturned. When there was a king, if one who could bring a more powerful army made his appearance, the army of majesty was scattered—*exit rex*, and the stranger was in his place. It was just the same with the whole succession, down to the lord of one village,—the only one that could immediately find a second army, of any number, however small, after his first had been routed, and his treasury emptied.

This was a very convenient state of society for enabling the Brahmin to play at kings and lords for his own advantage. It was not the interest of the petty chief of a single village to set up for an independent sovereign: and therefore he, and the people who were immediately under him, passed quietly from the sway of one sovereign to that of another.

But the king, whatever might be the number of his gradations over the lord of one village, had the general administration of justice, or at least of law, under his care, as well as the military management. There was a sort of court in the village, as well as a police; and in disputes about the boundaries of land and other local matters, there was an inquest of the inhabitants, something resembling a jury; but there was always an appeal to the Durbar, or court of complaint, though the mode of that appeal was liable to many objections, and it depended more upon the personal character of the judge than upon any thing else, if the aggrieved party met with any redress. That form was kept up by the Mahomedan Emperors, and even Aurungzebe himself, in the zenith of his pride, devoted a portion of every day to hearing the complaints of the people, as well as to reading the decisions of the judges.

As the Hindû village is really the only per-

manent part of the native government, the rest being maintained only by force of arms, and thus liable to change; and as the villages have in many instances belonged, from time immemorial, to the ancestors of the people by whom they are at present inhabited; an outline of the system on which they are formed, is absolutely necessary. There is no definite extent allotted for a village, either in quantity of land or number of inhabitants. These depend upon circumstances which were probably at first purely accidental; but they have a sort of municipal government, which is very uniform in them all, and makes the villagers a little permanent nation, while empires around them are in a state of change. The original principle that regulated the size of the villages may have been the accumulation into one place of as many persons as could assist one another by the division of labour, so that none might be idle or have too much to do, and that all might have their simple wants supplied without going to a distance.

The number of official men in these villages is very considerable, and the offices, we believe, generally hereditary. The first, or lord of one village, is a *potail*. He is the greatest official man that the villagers know, or, at least, give themselves any trouble about; and if they have

any attachment to a ruler, of course it is to him. The offices are numerous, and some of them rather contradictory, according to our notions; but the permanence of the villages shews that he suits the genius of the people. He superintends the affairs of the village, administers the police, settles disputes, with the assistance, when necessary, of the punchayet, or inquest, already alluded to, and he also is the collector of the revenue. He is, therefore, a sort of sovereign of the village; and as he is a sovereign in daily contact with the people, he is better acquainted with them and their circumstances than any other officer could be. Those who have had the best opportunities of observing, also say that the potail has a good deal of influence in his village, and generally deserves it. The second officer is the *curnum*, who is properly the clerk or registrar of the village. He observes the progress and success of the general industry and affairs of the village, and keeps a register of it, that may be produced in case of dispute. The *tallier* is the third officer; he is the chief police and guardsman: is charged with the detection of offences, and the safe conduct of all persons to and from the village. The *totie* is the last of what may be accounted the governing officers. He is a sort of beadle within the village, and his proper duty is to

watch the produce, to assist in ascertaining the quantity, and take care that there is no embezzlement, but that each has a due share. This is necessary, because those officers who are employed for the good of the village generally have their reward out of the general produce.

The other public characters in the village are—the *surveyor*, or *boundary-man*, who sees that the marches are preserved, and gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute; the *water-inspector*, who looks after the condition of the tanks, wells, water-courses, and other means by which the lands are irrigated, and sees that each ryot, or cultivator, has his due proportion; the *brahmin*, who officiates as the village priest; the *school-master*, who teaches the children to write and read in sand, and from whom the practice was introduced into the mechanical schools of this country; the *astrologer*, who is always a brahmin, and who lets the people know when the stars and seasons are in proper humour for favouring the labours and enterprises of the village; the *blacksmith* and carpenter, who make the implements and erect the buildings necessary for carrying on the labour and lodging the people; the *potter*, the *cow-keeper*, and the *washerman*. These are the chief tradesmen that are essential in every village; but comfort and health require

a *barber* and *doctor;* and the gaiety of the people require a *poet*, a *musician*, and a *dancing girl.*

Thus each village has an establishment within itself, which answers all the purposes that are requisite among a people who have no ambition, and know little change; and were it not for the superstition to which they are exposed in the article of religion, and the exertions of the government, one would imagine that there should be many of the elements of rural happiness, as well as rural simplicity, in such a village—where all the people, those who cultivate the ground, and those who in any other way may serve the community, have a common interest in all that is produced. In this simple mode of life there may be some advantages derived from each man following one occupation; they may acquire a little more dexterity than if they had to shift from one employment to another; but the system precludes any thing like progressive improvement or mental energy and resources; and thus the benefit, if any, has in general been to the government, or to the deputy that collected the revenue.

The construction of a village, of which the outline has been given, prevails in the greatest purity in those districts where invasion has come the least; and simple as these little asso-

ciations may appear, they have been the chief sources of all that wealth of India, the accounts of which have been so much exaggerated, and for the possession of which the desires of men have been so much inflamed in other parts of the world.

According to the laws of Menu, and, so far as we are now able to judge, according, also, to the ancient practice of the Hindûs, the whole property of the land was vested in the sovereign, who, by the same laws, was allowed a portion of the produce, greater or less, according to circumstances; and also a tax upon all manufactured articles and merchandise; the rent and the tax always being a smaller portion of the whole value, the more labour that the production required. Thus the tax upon garden produce was less in proportion than that upon field produce; and the tax upon the produce of land that required artificial watering, less than upon that of lands which were naturally flooded by the rivers. There were also, in every village, lands that were free, or nearly free; such as those that were allotted for the pagoda or religious establishment, and for the maintenance of the village officers, as above enumerated.

But lands are nothing, especially in a country like India, where, when neglected, they are soon changed into jungle or desert, unless they are

cultivated; and, therefore, to suppose a proprietary right in the king, the same as that which an English landowner has in his estate, would be to suppose that which could not possibly be. The right of the king in the lands could be no more a right of private property than his right in the merchandize. The king's right is a right of revenue, for his own support and that of the state; and that right would be a nonentity, if somebody who had not a proprietary right in the production of the goods in the one case, and in the land, so as to crop it in the other. When the East India Company first began to deal in Indian revenue, they knew but little about the laws and customs of India, and they went to work with English notions; so that, while they produced a vast deal of confusion and misery among the natives, they darkened the subject of the tenures of land. Had they been at the trouble to ascertain who had been longest resident, they would have found that the ryots, or cultivators, in all cases where they had not been killed out in the disturbances, or had died out in the course of nature, had been longest there—had been in possession before there ever was a nabob or a zemindar in Bengal, and that they had never been turned out as long as they paid the *jumma*, or assessment to the state. This proprietorship

arose out of the very law that gave the king a discretionary power of fixing the amount of revenue. If they paid what he demanded, and obeyed the law, their removal would have been not unjust merely, but absolute madness—it would have been the sovereign destroying his own power and wealth, without any object, even in the gratification of the lowest passion; and though one mad king may have done that, it could never have been general.

The king and the ryot were, therefore, the joint proprietors of the land in India; but each for a different purpose, just as the king and the landowner are joint proprietors of the land in England; the most remarkable difference being, that the ryot is, by the law of his caste, the cultivator as well as the private proprietor; and thus far India had the advantage of England.

The king was the public proprietor for revenue; and the ryot was the private one for finding that revenue, as well as his own subsistence; and the produce to the one was limited by what the other could spare, and that to the other by the productiveness of the soil and his own success and skill in the cultivation of it. It is just the same in every state where there is a compact for revenue, or a revenue at all—in England, for example; and the only difference is in the law—the law of India allowing the

assessment to be made by the king, with advice of the lord spiritual, or brahmin, only—that of England requiring the lords spiritual and temporal, with the commons in parliament assembled.

It has been supposed that when the emperor, or nabob, or rajah, or whatever else he might be called, granted a zemindaree, or jaghire, or whatever else it might be called, he granted a private property; but such could not be the fact,—he having no such property to grant. By the law there are no crown lands in India; and there is no need for them, because a revenue for the king is provided out of the whole lands, as well as out of the manufactures and merchandize. When, therefore, an eastern ruler granted a zemindaree, or a jaghire, he did the very same thing in principle that a western ruler does when he grants a pension; only he gave it with the trouble of collecting, instead of giving it out of the revenue after it is collected. The King of England might, instead of giving so many thousand pounds a year, give the man whom he delighted to enrich the taxes of the Northumberland estates, or of the brewery of Barclay, Perkins, and Company; but he could neither give the estates nor the brewery as a private property; and it is the very same in principle with the rulers in the east. If the

East India Company have ever done any thing of that kind, they have either acted in gross ignorance, or been wilfully guilty of a very flagrant violation of justice; and by neither mode have they demonstrated their fitness for being rulers, to say not a word about legislation.

That there was much greater hardship to the proprietor of the soil in the eastern zemindaree than in the western pension is very true, because the zemindar had the power of making the exaction what he pleased; but as, under the Mahomedan rule at least, the revenue exacted by the sovereign himself was always about the very maximum of what the cultivator of the land could afford, the zemindar could not make the burden much heavier. Some apology may be necessary for these remarks being a little more argumentative than is consistent with the general intention of the book; but the mistake appeared to be one that needed correction. If the Company claim a private property in the soil of India, they are not successors of the rulers whom they have displaced; they come upon new grounds—grounds which are neither consistent with Hindû law, nor with the usual practice of civilized conquest.

There is a sort of plea in favour of the Company, in their recognition of the pro-

prietory rights of the zemindars in Bengal, which reduces that proceeding merely to the perpetuating of a wrong done by others, and not doing it directly themselves. The zemindars are a production of the decline, or, rather, the corruption, of the Mogul Empire. They are barely mentioned in the time of Acbar. The offices were given to favourites, who, as the empire became weak, followed the example of the nabobs in setting up for themselves, and joining the private rights of the ryots to those rights of collecting the revenue which had been conferred on them by the emperors. Partly to save trouble, and partly because it was more in accordance with the practice in Europe, and partly because they thought that the rent would be more abundant if obtained through them, the Company regarded the zemindars as proprietors of the soil. That was one of the chief causes of the misery and crime so abundant in Bengal in the early days of the Company's territorial power, and which have not been wholly got the better of yet. Declaring that the zemindars were the proprietors of the soil of India, or even giving them a proprietory right in it, any further than the stipulated duannee, or tax, for the amount of which there had always been some sort of check under the native system, was not very

different, either in principle or in practice, from giving the revenue officers similar powers in England; and the effects were just what the parties, with even a very slight knowledge of human nature, might easily have foreseen. The government of the village was, in fact, the only thing like a social compact among the people of India. In it there were unity of interests and reciprocity of good offices. There were the associations of a long period of neighbourhood, and whatever of feeling and affection had existed, had been confined to the village. There, there was mutual service, one accommodating another, and being accommodated in return; but every thing higher than or external of the village, presented itself only as a drain upon their industry; it pressed them to the full amount that they could bear; and, therefore, the Hindûs had always been ready to turn from ruler to ruler, just as the man who is in pain turns upon his bed in the hope that in the new position he will be able to shake off the grief of the old; but the hope is delusive, and he is just as anxious for a fresh position.

The very way in which the produce of the village fields was parted among the people shows that to them the village was the kingdom. It is probable that the exactions on the people were much more severe in Bengal

than in almost any other part of India; and there the people were treated with regard to the rent, in the same manner as the Irish used to be sometimes treated with regard to tithes—they were not allowed to gather in their crops till the rent was paid. That single circumstance might have thrown a great deal of light upon the whole structure of Bengalese society—might have shewn that the zemindars, or whoever collected the rents immediately from the cultivators, were not the proprietors of the land. Proprietors of land have a natural regard for the land; and this, even under the very maximum of folly and avarice, leads them to let the crop be disposed of before they demand the rent. The fact that that was not, and is not to this day, allowed in many parts of Bengal, is a proof that those who levied the rent there stood precisely in the same relation to the land as the Irish tithe-renters. Both had got let to them a public impost, which had no connexion with proprietorship in the land; and both appear to have wished to secure it without any regard to the injury that might thereby be done to the people or to the land itself. Some of those zemindarees in Bengal are very large, and thus the rent, or revenue, of the Company is more easily collected.

In those parts of the country where the

ancient Hindû customs have been less changed, the following is the distribution of the crop, as stated in substance by Dr. Buchanan. The grain is thrashed out in the field, after which the Brahmin consecrates ground for the forming of a heap, by plastering it over with cow-dung. The heap is then collected, and generally contains about one hundred and ten Winchester bushels,—the seer, which is mentioned in the division, is about one-third of a gallon, and the distribution is made thus:—First for the Brahmins of the pagoda, or the officiating priests, five seers, and for the mendicant Brahmins an equal quantity: secondly, for the village Brahmin, and astrologer, one seer each. Thus, for the immediate purposes of religion, there are four gallons, or half a bushel, set apart out of one hundred and ten bushels, which is only one-twenty-second part of the tithe paid for the church in England. Thirdly, the barber, the pot-maker, the carpenter and blacksmith, and the washerman, get two seers each, which makes eight seers for the tradesmen of the village. Fourthly, the potail gets eight seers; the police officers seven, and the curnum ten—which make twenty-four for the village magistracy. These deductions are the same for every heap, whatever may be its magnitude, if it exceed five-and-twenty bushels; but as one hundred

and ten may be accounted the average, the whole of the regular exactions do not amount to two per cent.—being $1\frac{7}{8}$ bushels out of one hundred and ten.

The heap is then measured by the candaca of about $5\frac{1}{16}$ bushels, and the imposts according to the quantity deducted. These are two and a half seers per candaca each to the potail and curnum, and half a seer to the watchman, with the consecrated bottom, to the inspector of the water-courses. This makes up the whole of the village allowance for religion, for tradesmen, and for government: for all, in short, that is absolutely essential for the village, as a village, and the total does not much exceed five per cent., that is, out of the one hundred and ten bushels, there still remains about one hundred and five bushels to the ryot.

After this, however, there come more severe exactions, which show that they have been imposed by an authority external of the village. The collector of the revenue gets ten per cent., which reduces the heap to about ninety-four bushels: and the revenue itself is half the remainder, which leaves the ryot about forty-seven out of one hundred and ten, or rather more than forty-two per cent. out of the gross produce, which is certainly more

than comes to the English farmer, after all his public and local imposts and rents are deducted. In point of fact, however, the amount levied in all places where Mahomedan governments have been established, are much greater than what has been stated, and probably less than one sixth remains to the cultivator. That which is left is generally a bare maintenance; and when it is borne in mind, that, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, the total expense of living to the whole population, English, nabobs, and all, included, is, for food, clothing, and every thing, only about *two pounds* sterling each per annum, the pittance on which the poorer classes are supported must be small indeed. *One pound four shillings* may be taken as the average of the whole annual maintenance of each individual in an artificer's or labourer's family, consisting of four persons; and therefore the average wages of the labourer himself cannot be much more than one penny a day, if it be as much.

Of the very highest class of the Hindoos, the average annual consumption is rated at seventy-five rupees, or about seven pounds ten shillings per annum; reckoning nine women and children: while the consumption even by British common soldiers in India, is estimated

at about nine pounds sixteen shillings. Bengal and Bahar, are the richest parts of the country: and they contain a population of about fifteen millions of natives—consuming in food and clothes, about thirty millions in the year.

This is not the place to discuss how much they can afford to expend in clothing or utensils of any sort; but those who are so loud and ardent in setting forth the vast advantages which would result to this country from an extended free trade with India, would do well to consider, how much of the manufactured produce of a country, where an artificer gets four shillings a day, and a house servant-girl ten pounds a year, besides maintenance, can be bought by a nation who have not for food and all, more than two pounds a year each. It would be but a sorry prospect for the manufacturers of England, if (even whisky apart, which is the law in Hindûstan,) they were to open a trade with a nation composed of fifteen millions of Irish labourers: and yet, as they are paid in England, those persons are nabobs in wealth, at least in outgoings, as compared with even the upper class of the Hindûs.

And yet this is the proper view to take of a trade in commodities with India. The customs of the people are such, that they do not desire the commodities of England, or, rather,

they are ignorant of those commodities; and it is well for them that they have not the desire, for, assuredly, they have no means whatever of gratifying it. As for a mart for English merchandize among the natives of India, in their present state, in any state in which we are informed of any thing about them, or in any state into which there is at present any rational hope of seeing them brought,—why, it might as well be sought at Monte Video again, in the north-west passage, or in the moon. The revenue in England is, including the expense of collection, and futile prosecutions for deficiencies, after the rate of about three pounds per annum upon every man, woman, and child in the country; which is, in itself, fifty per cent. more than the total maintenance of the native population of India; and to say that consumers could purchase goods that were produced under the pressure of more taxation than the whole living of the consumers, and after having been carried for nearly twenty thousand miles, would be saying a very foolish thing. The purchase they could not possibly make, and to tantalize them would be cruel. In the present state of things, therefore, the idea of an extensive export trade to India, even at a considerable loss, is a palpable absurdity, and never can

enter into the head of any person, that understands any thing about India. A rich man may want a bit of broadcloth, or, it may be, when he associates with, or rather lives near Europeans, he may want a crystal lamp, and, once in ten years or so, there may be a covering wanted for the car of Juggernauth; but were it not that they have to carry out military stores and equipments, and necessaries for Europeans, the outward-bound ships of the Company would be more frequently empty than full. Out of this there naturally arises more argument, but all tending to the same purpose: the Company have, from their political influence, certainly had more facilities for carrying on an extensive trade, than those who did not possess such an influence could have; and yet the whole amount of British produce and manufactures exported by them, in the year ending 22d April 1829, was, according to the official return, only one million ninety-eight thousand eight hundred and ten pounds, of which four hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine pounds consisted of military stores, which leaves only six hundred and thirty-six thousand four hundred and forty-one pounds in saleable commodities. There are about seven thousand British in the country, who are not in the army; and of those

in the army, we may safely set down two thousand as purchasers of British articles to the amount of eighty pounds each a year: so that, upon a very moderate computation, the demand for British articles, by the British alone in India, would amount to five hundred and sixty thousand pounds, leaving only seventy-six thousand four hundred and forty-one pounds for the whole quantity sold to the natives. The profit upon that, allowing ten per cent., and it does not perhaps amount to five, or as a trade with the natives to one, and the whole of the Company's profits upon their exports, cannot by possibility amount to more than seven thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds a year. But the estimate of consumption by the British is taken too low, taking nine thousand as the number that purchase British commodities—and it must be borne in mind, that, as a great part of the army consists of officers, the British demand must take up the greater part of all the European and American imports; and the value of India, as an outlet for the manufactures of England, dwindles into absolutely nothing, and is really not worth petitioning or even speaking about. Of the manufactures of Europe, there never can be much more consumed in India, than there are Europeans there to purchase them; because

the people of the country really have no funds to give in return for them; and the Europeans have no funds but what they must either get from Europe, or levy upon the country, in the only way that disposable funds have ever been obtained in India—having the power of making the natives give up without a price, and, as revenue or rent, a certain portion of the produce of their land and labour.

It may be supposed and said, that if the English were not in the country, to levy the twenty-three millions of revenue, which they at present levy, the whole, or the greater part, or at least some part of it, would be disposable, and applied to the purchase of European goods. But on that subject, great doubts may very rationally be entertained—first, as to whether any part of it would be disposable; and, secondly, as to whether, if disposable, it would be applied to that purpose.

First, the three and twenty millions is that which would support the whole government, fiscal and judicial establishments and wars of about one hundred and twenty-five millions of people, or about three shillings and eight pence farthing for each individual. The cost of the Russian government, the cheapest in Europe, is four shillings and nine pence farthing for each individual of the population; and though

the average support of the people of India, be probably less even than it is in Russia, it is difficult to see how the governing of them could be cheaper. ' There is some love of country in all the Russians, and a very great deal in many of them; so much indeed that there are few countries that stand less in danger of revolt. With the exception of some of the hordes in Asia, which but little influence the general state of the Russian empire, the Russians are an orderly people, and though rude and illiterate, are not prone to form predatory bands for the purposes of plunder and robbery. The Hindûs, on the other hand, have always evinced tendencies of that kind; and we have seen already that there are, in the very structure of Hindû society, causes which render that a natural and almost necessary state of things. It may further be said, that the sum alluded to is not the whole revenue of India; for the dependent chiefs have still the form, and a good deal of the expense of courts about them, and the chiefs that have been superseded by the Company, have the revenues of large tracts of land reserved to them. And even if the power of the Company were withdrawn, so that the sovereignty of India might be divided, each of the native princes would still have to maintain the

dignity of his court, in addition to the expense of the government; and in addition too, to the armament that he would constantly have to keep up, in order to repel hostile invasion, as well as put down insurrection. Although, therefore, it may be possible that India might according to the notions of the natives (though as appears from the whole tenor of their character, they care very little about governments); be better governed by native princes than by the British,—yet without some such predominating power as that of the British, there is every reason to suppose that future Hyders and Tippoos, would rise up as adventurers; and we have the experience of past times, both remote and recent, to bear us out in saying, that these would not only consume the revenue, but also, to a certain extent, the people.

Secondly, admitting, which is rather contrary to the probability of the case, that, in the event of the withdrawal of the British from India, and the reverting of the government to native powers, Hindû or not Hindû, according to circumstances, there should be a surplus of the twenty-three millions which the British spend (and, wars included, rather more than spend) in the government of the country; would that be more readily applied to the purchase of European manufactures than to any other purpose? The evident impossibility of there

being such a sum to apply, renders it quite unnecessary to argue this point at any great length. The Hindûs have, from time immemorial, been visited by the people of other countries; and they have never adopted any of their customs, or used many of their manufactured articles. When the trade was confined to the eastern nations,—the Assyrians, the Arabians, the Phœnicians and the Abyssinians, the probability is that there was a greater exchange of commodities than at some later periods, because the habits of the visited and the visitors were more alike. But with regard to European articles, there has been no increase of consumption since the commencement of the trade, and no additional export farther than can be satisfactorily accounted for by the additional number of Europeans in the country. Now if they have not got a taste for European articles during the time when Europeans have been more than usually numerous in the country, and have held the chief places of power, trust, and honour, it is not at all probable that they would more readily acquire such a taste were the Europeans to withdraw, and Hindûs or Mahomedans again to hold the important offices. Thus it may be assumed as an established truth, that there can be no extensive market for the manufactures of this country in India, until the people acquire

both an ability and a wish to purchase them, for neither of which there is at present any ground of hope; and therefore, in any argument that may be raised about trade with India, as being useful to this country, whether that trade may be open or close, by individuals as they please, or by a Company as it is able, the profit of the export trade to the country, may be put aside, as not forming any part of the matter to be discussed.

But India might be colonized by Europeans? That is a question in the fact, and more than a question in the necessity that there is for it. The Portuguese planted a colony at Goa; but their character, instead of having tended to raise that of the Hindûs, has sunk down below the level of the native standard; the few that remain of them are in the extreme of wretchedness, and their abode is more like a desert than a city. Now these same Portuguese settled in Goa under circumstances more favourable than any European colonists could now settle in India. It was then, and with them, consistent both with the fashion and the faith, that those who were not Christians might be plundered, not as a matter of sufferance merely, but as a matter of merit. From this doctrine they failed not to raise use; and the wealth of Goa was the wages of rapine. The settlers never

could have, by their own merits or exertions, won what they even had; and therefore the moment that they were thrown upon those exertions, they began to wax poor, and are fading away like a plant which has been unskilfully set in a soil not adapted for it.

But there is no need for quoting the example; the reason of the case is quite enough. If colonists were sent to India, they must be some such colonists as those whom the Company has already there. They must live upon remittances, or they must live upon rent. To these there is no other alternative, unless you suppose that they are to live upon plunder. There is no part of Europe from which you could obtain working people, that would be contented with sixpence or a shilling in the week, or who could exist at the same cost as even the average of the higher ranks of the Hindûs. Even if you could find them, you would either have to send employers along with them, or leave them unemployed; for assuredly they would meet with no employment from the natives. They would have no caste, and people of caste would not employ them, so that the jungles would be their habitations, and the outlaws their associates. Nay, even though there were nothing of that kind, and the employment of he wealthiest Hindûs were open to them, they

could not compete with the natives with any chance of success. The dexterity of the Hindû is in his hands; and were the European deprived of the tools and machines which science has furnished him with, he would be no match for the other.

But there would be no use in sending people to India as emigrants. There are plenty of people there already,—of people far better adapted to the climate than any that could be sent, and people who not only can live, but actually do live upon the small allowance that has been mentioned. Easily too as they are supported in point of expense, the country is not overflowing with wealth. Every way therefore that the subject can be viewed, there is no way in which it appears at all possible to create a demand for European goods, much greater than that which exists at present, and we have seen that where the demand occasioned by Europeans is taken out of the way, the native demand that remains is hardly worth mentioning. One very small ship annually, would probably carry the greater part of it.

But there has been commerce with India, from the earliest periods, and it has been sought for by the most difficult routes? So it has, but not for the purpose of carrying the goods of the west to India—the object has been

to resort thither for the purpose of purchasing goods, and they have generally been purchased with money. The trade has generally also been in the hands of one or two of the western nations; and, for a long time, one of the articles most eagerly sought after, was the piece goods, or manufactured cottons of India. From the superiority of the cotton wool of American growth, and the introduction of machinery in the manufacture, together with the finer patterns and more beautiful and durable colours, that can now be produced in Europe, that part of the trade is of very little value. Saltpetre, drugs, and dye stuffs, are now the chief articles of Indian produce that find a general market in Europe, and of these some are exceeded, and many are rivalled, by the productions of tropical America. The indigo of Guatimala is almost equal to that of the east, and there is no dye there equal to the cochineal of the Caraccas.

It is possible that, in consequence of the comparatively cheap subsistence of human beings, the produce of India may, in many articles, be had cheaper in that country, than the produce of some other places; but then that is compensated, in so far, by the length of the voyage, which, if (as would be very much the case were there no Europeans in the coun-

try) the outward trips should go for nothing in the way of profit, would really be more than the trade would bear. The chief demand in India, when the trade was confined to the natives, was for the precious metals, and these, with gems—which it would be rather ridiculous to carry to India except perhaps from Brazil, and that is at best doubtful—were the chief treasure that the wealthy Indians accumulated. Nor is there any reason to suppose that if the trade were to revert back to the Hindûs again, it would be different, for their habits have changed very little.

If we had only the evidence of the Company's trade, that would not be conclusive, for, with all their advantages, the Company are not the very best sort of machine for carrying on an active and profitable trade. It is much too cumbrous and costly in its motions; and though, from the monopoly that it has in the Chinese branch, it may make a little profit by that, it is not in the nature of things that it can make a profit upon the whole. The Americans are as fond of driving a lucrative trade as any people, and they are abundantly enterprising; but their trade with the whole of the eastern seas is not increasing. In the ten years preceding 1828, the American trade to those seas has, with some fluctuations, been falling off every year; and

in the last of these years it was less than one half of what it was in the first; and yet, in the article of furs, the Americans have some advantages in the port of Canton.

These remarks may seem out of place; but they arise so naturally out of the consideration of the structure of Hindû society, that it is hoped a saving of space will be effected by placing them here, rather than in a separate chapter, where they would have been disjoined from that, out of which they rise, as matter of necessary and unavoidable inference.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIVE POPULATION—APPEARANCE—ACCOMMODATIONS—MANNERS—AMUSEMENTS, &c.

SWINGING.

THOUGH there are differences in the personal appearance of the Hindûs, in some cases arising from the districts of which they are natives,

and in others from the nature of their occupation, yet there is, generally speaking, a family likeness among them, which sufficiently marks them as one people. The mountaineers of the north are strong and muscular; the inhabitants of the south of more slender frame; but they are generally what one would term "clean made," and capable of enduring much more, both of privation and fatigue, than one would, at first sight, be disposed to believe. They are unlike any of the races that have been found, as it is usual to say, native in tropical countries. Their features are much finer than those of any of the negro races, and they have neither the fiery eye nor the sinister look of the Malays; at the same time, they are without the impassioned aspect of the Arabs and Persians. The general expression is soft and retiring; but there is a dash of cunning about it; and when a Hindû humbles himself to the dust before you, you are not wholly free from the apprehension of treachery. Perhaps that has been produced by the long habit that has been forced upon them by their oppressive rulers, of concealing their circumstances lest they should be plundered. On the part of the low castes, it no doubt arises in so far from the inferior situation in which they find themselves, without any blame on their part, or merit on

that of those on account of whom they are humble; and in the Brahmins there is often a most hypocritical expression occasioned by the overacting of pretended sanctity.

The face of the Hindû is oval, with a reasonable but not very large forehead; the eyes have a tinge of yellow in the white, and the black of the iris is soft and dull; their eye-brows are in general well formed, the mouth and nose of rather a European cast, though the former has a little the character of that of the Jews. The hair is black and long, but rather soft, and has no natural tendency to curl. The females of the inferior castes, from the harsh treatment they meet with, and the severe labour they must undergo, are of diminutive stature, never handsome, and very early in life have a haggard appearance; but even then they are capable of enduring a great deal of fatigue, and in some of the mountain districts the whole labour of the field devolves upon them, the men being trained to arms. The women of the high castes are very different; their forms are delicate and graceful, their limbs finely tapered and rounded, their features mild, their eyes dark and languishing, their hair fine and long, their complexions glowing, as if they were radiant, and their skins remarkably polished and soft. The only feature about them that does not

quite harmonize with European notions of female symmetry, is the size and projection of their ears; but, with this exception, nothing can be more lithe and sylph-like than a genuine Hindu beauty.

The dress of the Hindus is remarkably simple, and except in the fineness of the cotton cloth of which it is made, there is very little difference in that of the rich and the poor, the distinction of the former consisting more in their jewels and attendants. The two grand divisions of the Hindû or Brahminical faith, are distinguished by the position of a white line on the face, which is made with chunam or lime—rather chalk and clay mixed—found in some holy places in Gujerat. The followers of Siva wear the line perpendicular, and those of Vishnu horizontal. The adoration of Siva has at one time been more prevalent on the west coast, and that of Vishnu on the east; but they are now in so far blended. Still the Brahmins of Siva, on some parts of the west, consider themselves of a caste so transcendently high and holy, that they will not eat with those of any other place.

The distinguishing badge of the castes is a string tied round the shoulders; the number, form, colour, and order of the threads in which, indicate the particular rank that the wearer

holds in his caste. No member of an inferior caste is however allowed to wear so many threads in the string as the very lowest order of the caste above him; and the Sudra is not permitted to wear any string.

The men in India have two fashions of dress, —one which they are described as having worn in the days of the Romans, and no one knows how long before then; the other has been in part adopted from the Mahomedans, though with such difference that the one can never be mistaken for the other. The ancient dress consisted of three pieces of cotton cloth, one fastened round the waist, and falling down as far as the knee; the second wrapped round the body, and the third twisted round the head. The Mahomedan imitation consists of cotton drawers down to the ankles, a long robe of cotton, crossed on the breast, and tied round the body with a scarf; but to distinguish them from the Mahomedans, who fasten the robe on the right side, the Hindus fasten it on the left. A turban forms part of this dress, but it is easily distinguished from the Moorish turban. This is the regular dress of the Hindus; but many of the poorer classes have only a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins; while in the cold districts they have a thicker piece of cloth, oftentimes of woollen, and sometimes of British

manufacture, resembling the pamho of the South Americans, which answers all the purposes of a robe, a mantle, and a bed. This covering of all work is most frequent in the Balaghaut country, and among the mountaineers in the north. The head is usually shaved, except a small lock on the hinder part, and a pair of small mustachios.

The dress of the females is very elegant, and upon a fine form it is far more classical than the fashionable bundles of knots, tatters, and ends of ribbon, with two-bushel sleeves, and head dresses as broad as the umbrella over a palanquin, which, in the present year, 1830, give the belles of England an outline, which, if it should please nature to fill up with flesh and blood, would certainly render them of all created beings the most shapeless, or, at any rate, the most unmeaning in shape, either for use or for ornament. The close part of the Hindû female dress is a jacket with half sleeves, which fits tight to the shape, and covers but does not conceal the bust, and this, in females of rank, is made of rich silk. The remainder of the dress is the shalice, a large piece of silk or cotton, which is wrapped round the middle, and contrived to fall in graceful folds, till it be below the ancle on one leg, while it shows a part of the other. It is gathered into a bunch

in front, and the upper end crosses the breast, and is thrown forward again over the shoulder, or over the head like a veil. The belles prolong their dark eye-lashes by lines of black drawn from the corners of the eyes, and the palms of their hands, their nails, the soles of their feet, and sometimes also the roots of their hair, are tinted red. The women of the lower castes seldom wear anything but the shalice of pure white cotton, but even then, upon a graceful figure, the method of arranging it looks very handsome. The hands and feet are always adorned with rings and other ornaments, and sometimes a jewel is worn from the nose. Even the working-girls have their anklets and armlets of glass, tin, brass, or tutenag, and sometimes of silver. The higher classes wear a kind of slippers, or sandals, which are long, turned up, and sometimes ornamented at the points; but the poorer classes go barefooted. The ornaments that are worn upon the person are the only costly articles in the establishment of a Hindû, but they are of a nature not soon to wear out, and they never become unfashionable. Whether it be that the cotton-wool suffers from the long sea carriage, or that the manipulation by the delicate fingers of the women, or the art of spinning, works the thread into a finer consistency, the cotton cloth of

India is certainly much more durable than that which is made in Europe, so that clothing costs very little. It seems, indeed, that the cotton goods of England are not at all adapted for the natives of India. Their habits are permanent, and both that and their capacity for buying require that their clothing should be permanent too. The cottons of England are better suited to a people among whom fashion is continually shifting. A considerable quantity of cotton twist and yarn has, however, of late years, been sent from Britain to India, because the spinning by machinery is cheaper than even by the fingers of Hindûs; but it is doubtful whether much of the cloth that is wove from that yarn, be worn by the natives of India, as, being a mercantile speculation, the greater part of it is probably dispersed in the country trade among the isles.

In the country, and also in those parts of the towns that are inhabited by the working classes, the habitations and furniture of the Hindûs are even more simple than their clothing. In the desert of Ajmeer, where vegetable substances are not to be found, the houses are constructed of rude stones, roof and all, and bear some resemblance to those shelters which the shepherds erect in the mountainous parts of this country. In those places where the dry

season is of long continuation, the houses are often of a very light structure. A frame-work is constructed of split bambû, and that being covered with mats of the leaves of the cocoa or any other long-leaved palm, is dwelling enough for the dry season. More substantial houses have the walls formed of mud, which the heat hardens almost to the consistency of brick; these have roofs of thatch or tiles, or when they are flat, which is often the case in the south of India, they are covered with the same sort of substance as the walls, and the whole sometimes whitened with chunum. The habitations of the ryots are mostly of the rude forms that have been noticed, and they are seldom more than one story high. The habitations of the more opulent often consist of two stories, have the walls smoothed, or formed of brick or stone, and cemented and plastered with a mortar made of lime and jaggery or palm-sugar unboiled. Those houses, in the towns, often have covered galleries in front, raised a little from the street, which sometimes form the habitation of the palanquin-bearers and other lower orders of domestics. The architecture of the towns, and habitations of the very wealthy, will be noticed in another place.

Furniture there is little in the habitation of a Hindû, and the little that there is, is of the

most plain and frugal description. As the people sit on the ground, and place their victuals there also, chairs or tables are not wanted. The very humblest people content themselves with the bare earth; those who are a little higher, strew the floor with straw or dried leaves; higher still, they have carpets, or, near the British settlements, occasionally a piece of broadcloth, over which a covering of white cotton is often spread. The bed consists of a mat extended on a little frame. The household utensils are a few basins and flat dishes, of copper or brass, a brass drinking vessel with a spout, a lamp, a few earthen jars, a mortar for pounding rice, and a pot, generally an earthen pot, for boiling it. The Hindû sits down to his frugal meal upon the bare ground, and if he has any vessel in addition to the simple leaf that contains his rice, it is merely an earthen plate.

The living of the Hindûs is as simple as their habitations and domestic utensils. With the exception of fish, which is eaten by some of the Brahmins, the high and pure castes eat no animal food; but they find a sort of substitute for that in the vegetable oils, and in ghee, or clarified butter, which last, though it be a production of the sacred cow, is allowed to be eaten; and as the cows in the dry dis-

tricts yield very little, it forms a considerable article of inland trade from those districts where the pasture is more nutritive. In the south of India, the low castes very generally eat fowls, and the out-castes eat carrion and even beef.

The kind of grain that forms the staple article of Hindû food varies with the climate, just as is the case in Europe. In the mountainous part of the south, the principal grain is *raggy*—the thick-spiked dog's-tail-grass (*cynosurus corocanus*); in the Deccan and the southern part of Hindûstan Proper it is rice or barley, or some of the vetches or pulses, according to the nature of the country; and in the north there is some wheat. The rice is however seldom the chief article of food in the inland districts. It does not grow very abundantly there, and it is the principal grain sold for the maintenance of the Hindû population of the towns, as the wheat is for the Europeans. In the populous parts of the country, there are sometimes mills, where the grain is prepared for being made into cakes; and where this is not the case, it is ground between stones by the hand, or beaten in a mortar. Where Indian corn is used, it is generally roasted. The cakes are sometimes made with water alone, and then they soon become as hard as a brick,

and so heavy that they sink in water; but in the better preparation, milk and salt are added. The quantity of salt, and also of spices, which the Hindûs use in the preparation of their food, is considerable; and becomes necessary on account of the insipidity of the grain which they are obliged to use, while at the same time it prevents the tendency which the vegetable oils have to become rancid, and to injure the stomach. The food of the wealthier Hindûs is, if possible, more simple than that of the lower castes; and their drink is invariably water, which is cooled in porous jars, in the same manner as in Egypt. Those of low and impure caste are fond of intoxicating liquors—the toddy of the palm, and the bang made from hemp. The Hindûs are very particular about the cleanness of their vessels, whether of metal or of earth, and as the latter are broken after they have been applied to certain uses, the potter of a village has constant employment. It must not be supposed, however, that his occupation is always similar to that of an European potter. The earthen vessels are chiefly for cooking or cooling the victuals,—the plate of the Hindû, being, in many instances, a leaf, or two or three leaves sewed together, the doing of which is part of the occupation of the potter.

Where the people live upon wages, as in the case of the labourers and artificers about towns, the living, though a little more expensive than in the interior, is still very low. This is particularly the case near the British settlements, where employment is more regular, and wages higher. At Madras, the average hire of a labourer is about four shillings a week, and the cost of maintaining himself, his wife, and five young children, about five shillings and sixpence a week. The clothing of the whole amounts to about sixpence a week, so that the support of a labourer's family is six shillings, or two shillings above what he can earn. But the wife can earn half as much as her husband, so that the two between them can support themselves and five children. Even at the most burdensome time of the family, however, that is, when the youngest of the five children is a mere infant, some of the older ones are able to do a little,—to earn among them half as much as their mother, that is, one shilling a week; so that out of the eighteen pounds four shillings which the family earn in the year, there is a saving of one seventh, or of one pound twelve shillings, which is not only much more in proportion, but much more in actual amount than the labourers of England have over and above their daily necessities. It must not be

said that the English labourer has his luxuries, and that the Hindû has none, for the betel and tobacco, the only luxuries which a Hindû of caste can by his religion enjoy, are included in the above estimate. This will farther corroborate what was said in the last chapter, that working people from England could not possibly support themselves for the same sum as the natives. It is to be borne in mind too, that this seven shillings in the week procures the constant service of one man, one woman, and two boys: and he who can have this service from people who do not give him the trouble of eating in his house, and who, so far from embezzling his provisions, will not touch a bit of them, would never employ a single European. This estimate is for the lowest class of domestic servants—as for palanquin bearers; but the rest are moderate in proportion, and as the expense of living, in as far as mere eating is concerned, does not rise with the rank of the party, the savings to persons who are in the higher classes are proportionally greater.

In order that the difference of living may be more clearly understood, we may mention the expenses of an interpreter's family, which is about the middle rank in society, as the man keeps a *hackery*, or country carriage, with two bullocks to draw it, and has a family

in all of twenty. The total household expenses in such a case would average about one hundred and thirty pounds a year, including luxuries and daily charity. The clothing of the whole, with the expense at festivals, and other matters necessary to keep up the dignity of the parties, would come to about thirty-two pounds, and the expense of the carriage would, with keep of the two bullocks, hostlers, stabling, and driver's wages, amount to about forty-eight pounds,—that is, the whole would come to two hundred and ten pounds a year. That is the sum required at the capital of the Madras presidency, to maintain an establishment which certainly could not be equalled in London for ten times the sum. But the expense of keeping Englishmen in India is much greater than this, even in those situations where they do not require to keep establishments,—at least in ranks of which the occupants are not supposed to keep very splendid establishments, or indeed any establishments at all, in England. The pay of an ensign of the native infantry in India is two hundred and seventy-three pounds fifteen shillings, or sixty-three pounds fifteen shillings more than that of a native who keeps a carriage, and that too when the ensign is in garrison, and of course not put to any extra expense. This is a fur-

ther confirmation that it is not in the living generally, but in the Hindû mode of life that the great cheapness consists; and that, while the manners of the Hindûs remain as they are at present, and have been since anything was known of them, there are no means by which Europeans can come into competition with them in any exercise of industry; and that, if any foreigners are to reside in the country, there are only two ways in which they can do it—they must either have their subsistence remitted to them, or they must be governors of the country, and raise their subsistence as revenue.

That the Hindûs shall change, shall become more expensive, or in any way different in their manners from what they are at present, is to be looked for only when they change their religion; because that is mixed up with every part of their domestic proceedings, and the terrible excommunication of the loss of caste, immediately falls upon those who would violate the most minute of its injunctions. The time and manner of eating and drinking are regulated with the same strictness as if these were direct acts of devotion. Many prayers, and acts of a religious nature, have to be gone through, even by those who have violated no part of the sacerdotal code; and the parts of that code are so numerous, and the language

in which many of them are set forth in the sacred books is so obscure, that a man requires to be contantly consulting the Brahmin, in order to find out whether he be sinning against the gods, or not. Besides those prayers and ceremonies, there are very frequent oblations, which chiefly consist of flowers, incense, fruits, and money. These prayers, ceremonies, and oblations, are constantly and copiously mixed up with the ordinary routine of life; and nothing new, not even the transition from watching the crop to gathering it, can be undertaken without consulting the astrologer.

Every stage and principal act of life also has its ceremony. Great attention is paid to the women during their pregnancy. There are religious as well as worldly motives for this. The worldly motives are, that the children in India very soon become useful to their parents; and the religious, that none but a male descendant can say those prayers for the soul of one who is deceased without which his future happiness is very much impaired. When the seventh month comes, and there is a strong presumption that a living child shall be born, there is a festival. Another festival is held at the birth of the child, which is washed in water, enrolled in its caste by the magistrate, entered in the population roll by the Brahmin,

and has its nativity cast by the astrologer. On the tenth day the child is named. If the parents are very poor, and not able to fee a Brahmin, the name is given by the chief man of the caste. The name is not to be taken from any thing animal, but from the celestial bodies, the earth, or vegetables; and an oblation of wood, rice, and ghee, is burnt upon the occasion. If there be a Brahmin present, he consecrates a portion of water, with which not only the child but all present are sprinkled. It is this which gives to the ceremony its greatest sanctity, and for which the Brahmin receives his fee.

This ceremony of the tenth day is only a general admission of the child as a member of the Hindû faith, without any reference to difference of caste; for, in early youth, the child of the Brahmin and that of the Sudra are upon a perfect equality; and they do not receive their distinctions until the period of investiture with the string, which takes place at the seventh or the ninth year, and is attended with another festival, and a fresh gift to the Brahmins.

After the child has been invested with the string that distinguishes his caste, he is understood to have begun the first of the three stages or degrees of human life,—has become a

pupil, to learn, to serve, or to do both, according to circumstances. The grand object of the pupilage is, that the student may become learned in the Vedas. For that purpose he is taken into the house of his spiritual father, in the capacity both of pupil and apprentice. The pupilage may be protracted till the pupil is thirty-six years of age, or he may voluntarily continue it for his whole life, which is accounted peculiarly meritorious. If, in the course of the term of study, the tutor die, the pupil is to pay the same deference, and render the same service to his widow, his son, or his personal relatives; but if none of these are alive, the honour which the teacher had in the family devolves upon the pupil. In addition to the Vedas, and other sacred books, many of the teaching Brahmins have cosmogonies, in which they present very whimsical views both of the temporal and the spiritual world.

The pupil may pass out of the house of his teacher into the second stage, or order, by getting married; or, after due study of the sacred books, and performance of the rites that are enjoined him, he may pass to the third, or holiest of them all, and become a devotee. The rules which the pupil must observe in the house of his teacher, are, like all the rest of the directions given in the sacred books, very

minute, and very trifling; and the whole are well calculated for making the Brahminical priest as much the dupe of his religion, as the vile Sudra, to whom it is a heinous offence to read the sacred books.

Even when the Hindû goes a courting, there are rules by which he is to proceed. The marriages, in as far as betrothing is concerned, take place at an early age, as early as eleven or twelve. If the parties can afford it, the ceremony is attended with considerable expense; and some of the ceremonies are not a little ludicrous. The marriage takes place at the house of the bride's father, for which the bridegroom departs in all the state that he can muster; and, as he leaves his own abode, a cow is tied up in the northern side of his apartment. [It will be recollected, that whatever the cow may do there, will sanctify instead of defiling the place—will only operate as a consecration.] Well, the cow being duly tied up, off rides the bridegroom, on elephant, in hackery, in palanquin, or on his own legs, according to his rank; and when he arrives at the abode of the bride's father, the ceremonies which are to confirm the union take place,—the most important of which is the bride's taking seven grave and solemn steps, and if she pause before the last one, there is no marriage. The steps are taken,

however; and when night comes, the bride-groom introduces her to the pole-star, as the proper emblem of stability; after which the newly-married couple sojourn in the house of the bride's father for three days, where the marriage-feast is held, and the man gives the presents, that are understood to be an equivalent for his wife. They then depart for their own home with due ceremonies; and the barber stands ready to divide the fastenings by which the cow is held; and just as the bride enters, the sacred quadruped makes her exit amid shouts of "the cow! the cow!" The persons who intermarry must not be within the sixth degree of affinity, neither must they have the same family name. In a first marriage a man must marry into his own caste; but in the event of a second, (and, though not often resorted to, three are allowed in cases where there are no children,) each caste has the range of its own and all below it.

Marriage is not, however, quite the same all over India; and, probably, the most remarkable variety of it is among the Nairs in Malabar. There the husband allows his wife food, clothing, and ornaments; but she remains in her father's house, or in that of her brothers, and her husband must not cohabit with, or even see her. She may cohabit with any one she

pleases, if not of a caste lower than her own; and the children of the sisters are heirs to the brothers. Thus there is no person in the country that can by possibility know his father. Those Nairs are Sudras; but they are of impure caste; they drink strong liquors, and eat the flesh of almost all animals, excepting that of the sacred cow.

The teachers and pupils that have been mentioned, are not the common schoolmasters and their scholars—religion, or profession, is what is taught to the in-door pupils. The schools are day-schools; and, in populous places, there are many of them supported by voluntary contributions; while the more wealthy Hindûs keep a tutor in their families. Reading, writing, and accounts, are the chief branches taught in the village schools; and the children generally sit in the open air under the shadow of a tree. At first they trace the letters in sand, (for they learn writing and reading at the same time,) with the fore-finger of the right hand, and keep the left hand ready to smooth the sand when they are to write anew. After they have made a little progress, the sand and finger are exchanged for a palm leaf and a metal style, the letters being first scratched and then rubbed over with charcoal. Those schools are usually confined to the language of the coun-

try; and after reading and writing have been acquired, Hindû grammar, law, and metaphysics, complete the course of education. Many, indeed, learn Arabic and Persian; but there are particular teachers for these.

The arithmetic of the Hindûs bears a considerable resemblance, both in its notation, and in the method of performing the operations, to that of modern Europe; their algebra extends as far as quadratic equations, and they have methods of solving some of the orders of indeterminate problems. Their astronomical observations must also have been carried continuously over a period of nearly one thousand years, as they are in possession of some of the variations in the solar system, which take nearly that time to perform their revolutions. But the Hindûs, as we might suppose from the structure of their society, and the nature of their religion, do not appear ever to have shewn much desire to turn the science which they have to useful purposes in explaining the phenomena of nature. Astrology was, probably, the object that they always had in view; and nothing is better calculated for making the ignorant believe that a man is familiar with, and, therefore, can controul the influences of the heavens, than his being able to predict an eclipse, or the appearance of a planet in a

certain part of the sky, at an assigned time. In the west, those matters have some influence in times not even the darkest; and, though, after philosophy has begun to light up the human race, astronomy is one of the most brilliant stars in the circle of the sciences, it is not the one which originates the light.

The ceremonies of his religion which accompany the Hindû in every stage and act of his life, thicken round him as that life draws to a close. Even among the enlightened there is something peculiarly affecting in death; and therefore it has always been a favourite time for superstition. When a disease is considered to be mortal, a sort of extreme unction is performed; and if, after that, the patient does not die, he becomes a pariah of the most unholy description. This is a power that may be exercised for the most abominable purposes, and there is little doubt that it is often so abused. If the dying man cannot be removed to the Ganges, or any other sacred stream or place, he is taken into the open air, and laid upon the sacred cusa grass (a species of *poa*); if near the Ganges, he is taken to that stream, has the mud and water thrown upon him, and the salgram stone laid close by; and there he remains, amid the performance of mummeries, till he expires. Then the women howl; the

relations lament; the body is washed; the sign of the caste made on the face; and the mouth filled with betel. Towards night, the pariahs carry the body to the place of funeral. That is a pile, if the deceased has been a worshipper of Vishnû, but a grave if a follower of Siva. When that place is arrived at, the relations proceed to examine whether the body be wholly dead, a fact which they were not previously very anxious to ascertain. For this purpose the body is pinched, water is dashed upon it, and noises are made with drums and trumpets. If the death take place in a house, that and the neighbouring ones are polluted, and all the people fast till the pariahs have carried away the body, which they do not by the door, but through a breach in the wall, made on purpose. After the funeral, the nearest relation goes to the house of the deceased with a staff to drive off the evil spirits; and they must fast, or nearly so, till the Brahmins are fed and feed, and all the rites performed. The funeral obsequies are performed ninety-six times in the course of a year; but the formal mourning, which includes the abstinence from betel, is very brief. Thus, at the time when it may be supposed that the survivors are most deeply affected, the faith of the Hindûs crowds its ceremonies, and also its de-

mands for the holy men, who are taking charge of the departing soul according to the established ritual. It is not well with the victim himself if the last act of his life be not a gift to the Brahmins; and, therefore, they take care to lay him on the sacred grass, or by the sacred stream, while yet he is able to make a bequest.

The numerous religious rites which the Hindûs must perform, and the length of time that they must take before they can support themselves and satisfy the demands of their rulers, do not leave them a great deal of time for their amusements. They are fond of amusements, however, and they have many classes of persons who are trained to exhibit. The number of these is, indeed, so great, that we can only mention the names of a few of the leading ones.

Probably the most general of these is the poet. His business is to recite tales and histories, which he does, sometimes with, and sometimes without, a sort of theatrical air. The language of some of those pieces is very flowery; but the story is often very absurd, and at times not over modest.

Lightly formed and agile as the Hindûs are, their religion forbids them the amusement of dancing. That is performed by the *dwadassi*,

or dancing girls, who are present upon all festive occasions. They are a religious order, devoted specially to the gods—and the officiating Brahmins. They are generally handsome girls, dressed in the greatest elegance that even the costume of the female Hindû admits of, and they are very richly adorned with jewels. Their movements too are imposing; but they err in gesture much in the same way that the poets do in words. Indeed it is the genius of the Hindû religion—for every thing is connected with that—to darken with obscenity that which would be beautiful or graceful, in the same manner as it darkens with absurdity that which would be sublime.

The professional wrestlers of India are among the most wonderful, as well as unexceptionable, of all the public exhibitions; and the grace as well as the agility and strength which they display, could not easily be exceeded by Europeans. That is one of the instances in which one gets a glimpse of what they might be, were it possible to break the mental fetters in which they are held; but the more that that unfortunate part of their condition is studied, the less hope there seems in it.

The jugglers have been often exhibited in this country; and, both in slight of hand, and in dexterity of manipulation, they are much su-

perior to the same class in the west. The great litheness of the Hindû, the delicacy of his hands, and the exquisite sensibility of his feeling of touch, give him a very decided superiority in every thing that depends upon these. The serpent jugglers, too, are a very singular class, for they certainly do handle the most poisonous snakes, with impunity, although not deprived of their fangs. Tumbling, and every other display of personal agility, might be expected among such a people; but to a stranger none of their exhibitions appears more daring than the mode in which they swing; and yet, hazardous as it seems to be, it is perfectly safe, and not injurious to health. The swing consists of two pieces of strong bambû,—one fastened securely in the ground, and steadied either by struts or gy-ropes, the other lies across the top, and is placed upon the first as a pivot. A rope is fastened to each end of the cross-piece; the shorter having a strong hook at the end, and the larger reaching down to the ground. The person to be swung has a strong bandage passed round his body, below which on the back the hook is passed, with the point outwards. By this arrangement the hook is in no danger of slipping, neither does it hurt the swinger. When the swinger is attached by his rope and hook to the one

end of the cross-piece, the people below take hold of the rope at the other end, and run rapidly round till the centrifugal force of the swinger stretches the rope, and projects him right out in the air, in which he seems floating; while the machine continues in motion, drums and other instruments of noise are beaten by the applauding crowd, while the attitude of the floating figure and the trappings with which it is ornamented, have a most imposing effect. The same centrifugal force which stretches the rope, not only keeps the body of the swinger in a horizontal position, but prevents him from receiving any injury, if the apparatus be strong enough to retain him. His head being nearest the centre of motion, the tendency of the blood is all the other way, and thus though the motion be very rapid, he does not feel the least inconvenience.

With all their pretended love of animal life, the Hindûs have no objection to a little cruelty to animals—nor, while they have hospitals for the comfortable maintenance of bugs and spiders in one part of the country, do they hesitate to bet their jewels, and even their clothes, upon the issue of a contest between cocks, quails, and other birds, which they have trained for the purpose. They are also fond of games, particu-

larly of the game of chess, which has been known among them from the remotest antiquity.

A people whose lives are made up of a succession of ceremonies in the way of religion, must necessarily have much ceremony in their social intercourse. One deserves notice on account of its name,—which is the same as that of one of the brutal sports of the depraved vulgar in England. That ceremony is *milling*; but, unlike its English namesake, the Hindû milling is neither intended nor calculated to promote ferocity and robbery. It is a ceremony of peace; and is a compliment by one Hindû of rank to another who is his equal. It usually takes place when they are encamped; and the two, with their attendants, mounted upon elephants, and ornamented with trappings, resort to the appointed place. When they come within sight of each other, there is a pause; and the styles and honours of the chiefs are proclaimed, much in the same manner as they were in Europe when tournaments were in fashion. When they have been both duly proclaimed, they approach each other, and he who is intended to be honoured by the ceremony, *mills* with all the attendants of the other,—that is, he clasps them round the body, lays his head first on the right shoulder and

then on the left, and afterwards salutes them by bringing the hand up to his forehead. When the attendants have been all milled with in this way, the person that has been honoured by the proceeding, remounts his elephant, and the whole is at an end. What may be the meaning of this ceremony, or whether it has any meaning, we have not been able to learn; but it is prepared for with much pomp, and considered too respectful and important for being mixed with any other intercourse.

Some of the amusements of the people have a considerable resemblance to those of Europe, and would almost induce one to conclude, that the coincidence is more than accidental. The cow-keepers of India erect their maypole, and adorn it with garlands, just as the rustics do in England; and though they do not dance round it themselves, that is done for them by the dancing girls of the village. There is a farther apparent coincidence. *Bhavani*, the festival at which the maypoles are erected, sounds something like the *Beltyne* of our ancestors. The festival of Huli, which is held in March, has some resemblance to our festival of fools—but that is a ceremony naturally enough to be looked for in every country.

Of the languages of India, it is impossible, consistently with a short sketch like this, to give

any account; and that is the less to be regretted on account of the language of a people not being an index to any part of their character. There are many dialects, and even distinct tongues in India. The following are the names of some of the principal:—the Sanscrit, or sacred language, answers nearly the same purposes in India that Latin did in Europe during the middle ages. It is the principal vehicle of religion, law, science, and learning. The Pracrit, in a number of dialects, as many as ten, is said to have been the ancient spoken language over a great part of India; but as there are no records, and no evidence that the inhabitants of the very distant parts of India had any knowledge of each other, no great reliance can be placed upon anything that is alleged upon the subject. There is a language called Pracrit still spoken among the Seiks to the north-west of Delhi, and in it the poetry and light literature of the country is chiefly written; another dialect of this language is supposed to be the present stock of the Hindûstanee. The language of Gujerat is not unlike the Hindûstanee; and it prevails from Surat to the countries on the lower Indus. Bengalee, or the Gaura language, is spoken about Calcutta, and generally over the plain of Bengal. The Uriga language is spoken in Orissa; and the Talinga is also used

on part of the coast of that country, and extends inland to the Balaghaut. The central parts of the Deccan use the Maharatta, the Zamel, and Canaree, on the west coast, and the latter also in part of the Mysore. It is easy to imagine how, even admitting that they had all have been the same, the languages of a country, the different parts of which had little or no intercourse, must have broken into dialects; and it is also easy to see how the priesthood should be anxious to continue the sacred books and rules in a language which was not anywhere the vernacular one. As the metaphysical part of no language can be correctly translated into another, there being no object of the senses to which both can appeal, a common religion cannot be the same without a common language. Among a people who have different languages, it thus can never be the same, and indeed it is doubtful whether the intellectual part of religion be precisely the same in any two individuals, although they not only speak the same language, but live under the same roof. But the verbal part—that which is said by the priests—will, if they have a sacred language, be the same as far as that language extends. While the Latin was the religious language of Europe, and the vulgar were forbidden to read the Bible, the church

was wonderfully the same in all countries; but the moment that the vernacular tongues were used, the spell and power of a universal catholic church were broken. The use of the Sanscrit language in religious matters, and the prohibition of the people from reading the Vedas, is, in supplement to caste, the grand foundation of the power of the Brahmins; and were some determined pundit to turn Luther, weed out the foolish legends from the sacred books of the Hindûs, and address the moral precepts that may be gleaned from them to the common understandings of men, in their own language, the Hindûs would have at least a chance of moral emancipation. If done at all, however, that must be done by a Hindû, and in the present state of that people, it is not easy to see whence the inducement and energy requisite for the accomplishment of such a task are to come, —certainly it were in vain to look for them, while there is not the slightest hope open to the honourable ambition of the Hindu— while not all the talent, conduct, worth and spirit that he may possess, can possibly raise him even to the petty office of village magistrate —hardly as the tool of strangers. Thus we see, that the very language of the Hindû adds another link to the chain which has continued to bind him from the beginning of history.

There is another point in which we may view the present state of India, through the medium of the past state of Europe. While the language which was no where vernacular in the west, continued to monopolize religion, the law, and whatever there happened to be of philosophy, there was nothing left for the literature of the people but tales and romances, and as those tales and romances wanted the curb of reason and morality, they ran, as one would say, quite wild. The composers of these things could not properly round them up with the legends that were accounted sacred, because that would have been invading the preserves of the church; and therefore they armed men with supernatural fortunes, or brought about those wonderful incidents through the instrumentality of a sort of *lay gods;* and thus, instead of tending in any way to set the minds of the people free from the dominion of that superstition which was imposed upon them by the priests, they gave them a new superstition in addition, and as both were of human origin, they worked well together, and jointly tended to keep the minds of the people in a state of slavery and degradation. This is precisely the case with the literature of India, and the similarity of the causes cannot fail to strike even the least reflective reader. There are, in some of the literary compositions

of the Hindûs, "as prave 'ords as you shall see in a summer's day:" they are glowing, they are romantic, they are voluptuous; but for anything that is even in the slightest degree calculated to enlighten the mind or elevate the character, they are sought in vain. They are not better than the volumes so well depicted by Cervantes, or those of our own old legends of the "Dragon of Wantly," and the doughty "Earl of Warwick and the Red Cow." If the literature of the people is disjoined from philosophy, it never can by possibility have the least effect in elevating the national character.

Thus, examine it in which way we will, we find that there is not a single crevice through which the intellect of the Hindû can creep out, not the slightest foundation upon which any thing mental can be built; and while the system continues, there are no means by which these can be made better. If the most able, the most daring, the most enlightened man that imagination can picture to itself, were to be placed over them, with their present systems of castes, law, and religion, they would not rise along with him; and thus there would be only his present exertions during his lifetime, and when his life was over, the dull mass would return and obliterate every memorial of him, as speedily and as certainly as the returning

tide obliterates the foot prints in the sand. The sand, by the way, is no bad emblem or illustration; it yields to every wave, because there is no power of aggregation or coherence in it; and it is just because there is no principle of union among them—nothing to bind them together—that the Hindûs have been so passive under conquest, so bandied about from spoiler to spoiler. If there had been the spirit of man in the millions of Bengal—if they had been imbued with the very feeblest throb of that pulse for their kindred and their land, which made the Dutch stand up for their little corner of salt marsh and morass, all the Babers or all the Clives that ever were born, never would have held one foot of the country.

We have a pretty constant illustration of that in the literature of our own country. However copious, full, and refreshing, the general stream of that may flow, there is always "a dribbling runnel," which meanders through the wastes of society, and makes, as one may say, desolation look more desolate; and if all that any foreign people knew of the mind of England were drained from what is called our light literature—from the annual weeds that grow on our wastes, or the *ephemera* that sport over our puddles, the opinion which that people

would form of us would not be very exalted; and before we give ourselves any airs of superiority, we ought to reflect that this is the only portion of literature that is left to the people of India.

CHAPTER IX.

NATIVE POPULATION—INDUSTRY AND THE ARTS.

SPINNING.

In the earlier periods of history, and before science had entered into and irradiated the workshops of Europe, the arts of India were

highly famed; and it must be admitted that, in as far as mere manual dexterity is concerned, they are superior to any other people. Several natural causes conspire to produce this; their hands are more delicately formed; their bodies are more light and flexible; their subsistence costs them less; and they are not rendered incapable of working by the use of stimulating liquors. The real advances which any people may have made in the arts, are not, however, to be estimated from even the exquisite polish and finish of a few articles; we find a polish on the wing-covers of a beetle, and a texture in the wing of a fly, that are unequalled by the finest labours of the Hindûs. The real advancement of the arts is to be sought more in the tools with which men work, than in the works which they produce; and in that respect the Hindûs are greatly behind.

Agriculture may justly be considered as the leading art among the Hindûs, because that is the source of all their wealth. In the procuring of water, a great deal of labour has been exerted, and there is some ingenuity in the mode in which that water is distributed; but in all that, there is not any science—nothing that could not easily be done by the very rudest people. In many places too, the fields

are kept very neat, and the crops are abundant; but all the implements are of the very rudest construction. The plough merely scratches—it does not turn up the soil; it consists of two rude sticks, or sometimes only of one crooked one, and the field has to be ploughed again and again, in all directions, before it be reduced to any thing like mould. The ploughman guides the plough tail with one hand, and the tails of the cattle with the other; or sometimes one woman is found pushing the plough behind, while two young girls are pulling at the heads of the bullocks, and the rut or scratch that is made in the field twists about like a cork-screw.

In the cleared lands, more especially in those that are flooded, the working of the soil is by no means a difficult operation; but the labour that is necessary in order to bring into cultivation lands that have been overrun by jungle and bushes is immense. Some particulars in the mode of working the land in the Balaghaut district, south of the Krishna, may be mentioned as a specimen, because that has been all along more decidedly a Hindû district than almost any other that could be selected. The armies that made their destructive marches over that country, in the times of Hyder and Tippoo, reduced great part of it to a desert, and thus

enabled the British, when they obtained possession, to see how waste lands in that part at least, of India, are brought under cultivation.

The soil there is a strong black mould, of about seven feet in depth upon the average; and of course such a soil, when neglected, gets overrun with bushes. The first process is to clear it of these; and then, the following are the operations by which one hundred acres are brought into culture: one month's constant ploughing from east to west; another month of the same from north to south; a third month grubbing up the roots; harrowing for six weeks, from morning to night every day, by a machine, that requires sixteen bullocks to pull it along, two weeks harrowing by six-bullock machines; two weeks more by two-bullock ones; two weeks pulling out roots; and other two of the light harrows; in all, including festivals, about seven months for one ploughing. It is true, that, after this has been done, one harrowing by the four-bullock machine, annually, suffices for nearly twenty years; and some of the poorer farmers use no other implement than a bush with a large stone on the top of it, for covering the seed, after scratches have been made for it by the drill-plough. Sowing in drills points itself out as the natural mode, where ploughing

is making a scratch, at both sides of which the mud is thrown up equally; and that accordingly is the general method in the districts alluded to.

The sowing is just as clumsy as the ploughing. The common drill-machine has three pieces of sticks, that make scratches about an inch and a half in depth, and the seeds drop into the scratches through three hollow bits of bambû, that are immediately behind the scratching sticks. Those bambûs are united to one rude vessel at the top, in which the various small seeds are mixed together; the larger seeds are sown by another machine: a bambû, fastened to the drill by a string, and having a little cup upon the top of it. A woman attends to this bambû, holding it directly over any one of the three scratches, into which she wishes the seed to fall with the one hand, and dropping the seeds into the cup with the other. The covering plough follows. It is a horizontal stick, which is drawn along by two bullocks, and by being passed against the ground, covers the seeds in the scratches with mould. The operation of sowing thus daily requires the attention of four persons, and the labour of four bullocks.

After those seven months of scratching and working with sticks and hands in the one case,

and with bullocks and bambûs in the other, one would naturally suppose that the ground would be completely mellowed in the one case, and the seed well distributed in the other; but such is not the case. Two or three inches of the surface have been scratched by the great plough; those scratches have been deepened by passing the plough two or three times along the same one; and they have crossed each other, so as to divide the whole surface into very minute square hillocks. The harrow has rubbed the surfaces of those hillocks, and all that has been loosened by both operations is cleared of roots; but the quantity so cleared is only a small portion of the entire surface, and in the whole bottom of the soil the roots remain, and give constant occupation in plucking the shoots that they send to the surface.

In the case of the covering, the crops are mixed; one of them ripens at one time, and another at another; so that, besides the quantities of the late ones that are trampled down in gathering the earlier, each takes part of the nourishment from the other, and the produce of the field is really less than if it had been divided into quarters, and each of them sown with one single species. There is labour displayed in this tedious agriculture; but there is no talent, no invention: the plough that is in

use now, must be the same as that which was in use two thousand years ago; at least, it cannot be better; for, assuredly, the present implements are only an improvement upon one system, and that system is, a man scratching the earth with his fingers.

Even in Bengal, the method of cultivation is not better than that which has been mentioned. The plough is the same clumsy instrument, and the land is neither worked nor manured as it ought to be. Instead of thrashing machines, the Hindûs have not invented so much as a flail: the rice is beaten out of the husk, the pulse trodden out by cattle, and the small grain thrashed with a staff. Roads there are none, except what have been made by the Mahomedans, or the British, or in imitation of them. The wheel-carriages, or hackeries, that are used for agricultural purposes, are more inconvenient than the cars in the wildest parts of Ireland. The body consists of two bambûs, with a few steps across; the wheels are little discs of wood, not very round, and the creaking of the wheels proves, that even if the roads were better, little would be gained by the using of them.

Tanks, water-courses, and wells, are very numerous, and some of them of large dimensions; but these are seldom the works of the cultivators of the soil; generally speaking, they

are the property of government, and the constructing of them has been forced even upon that. A Hindû rajah is as dependent upon the yearly crop, as the ryots who cultivate the soil; and, therefore, the tank, or the other means of irrigation, whatever they may be, are necessary for his very existence. On this account, the constructing of a tank has become, something like the building of a pagoda, a meritorious work in a religious point of view. But in both cases, it is the mere construction to which the merit is attached: in short, when they are made, they are not kept in order; and many of those dams and ditches, that have been made with great labour, are, from the rank and rotting weeds with which they are choked up, as conducive to pestilence as to plenty.

There are two modes of cultivation in India: the *nunjah*, or wet, and the *punjah*, or dry. The nunjah is by far the most valuable, as the crop is in a great measure certain, not depending on the contingencies of the weather. Upon lands of this kind, only one sort of crop is, generally speaking, sown at the same time, and therefore it is gathered with less waste. These lands can afford the highest rent, and the rent of them used generally to be paid in kind—about half the produce. The rice lands are, generally speaking, nunjah lands; and though the *totical*,

that is, the watched lands, do not pay so high a portion of the produce in rent, they are watered in the same manner as the nunjah. The totical lands are those devoted to garden culture, in which sugar-canes, capsicums, tobacco, and other articles which are supposed to require much more labour than mere rice fields, are produced.

The modes by which the nunjah lands are irrigated are, the natural floods of rivers, artificial water courses drawn from rivers, tanks which collect the rain-water, and wells from which the water is drawn. All these rise in expense over each other; and, with the exception of the wells, they all require that the land should lie lower than the water. There are therefore some places where none of these methods will apply, and where, on account of the depth, wells cannot be made use of. The great depth of some of the wells in the western part of Hindûstan Proper has been mentioned; but there are places near the Indus, where wells cannot be easily dug. In those places, wheels are placed on the river, constructed like the common Persian wheel, and by means of them, the soil, which otherwise would be an unprofitable sand, is well watered, and produces abundant crops. Those wheels are the property of the rajah, kept in order at his expense, and let

out to the cultivators at an average yearly rent of about five shillings and sixpence an acre. Those contrivances are, however, only partial, and neither on the Indus, nor in the lower part of the Panjaub, are those advantages derived from the rivers, which, under more settled governments, might render those parts of India so much more valuable than they are at present.

The natural floods of the Ganges and its branches irrigate a vast extent of land; but even in that part of Hindûstan the proper advantages are not taken of them. In Bengal there is not above a third part of the land under crop; and yet the population is so dense, that there is an inhabitant for every acre. This is but a sorry state of things, in respect either to domestic abundance, or disposable produce; and one is very apt to wonder why, in the home country of the British government, as it were, such should be the state of things. It is, however, a matter of necessity with the Hindûs; and there is but too much reason to fear that the British have been the cause of it. The country people of Bengal dare not live but in considerable villages, because of the *dacoits*, and the very circumstance of the people crowding together leaves range and shelter for those robbers in every district. Those robbers

do not excite the same hatred which most people have to banditti. The head man of a village is often known to belong to one of the gangs; and yet, because none of the natives will come forward and give evidence against him, he goes about openly, and walks even into the courts of justice without the least apprehension. Dacoits are indeed the most dextrous of thieves, and that formation which so well fits the Hindû for nice mechanical operations, fits him equally well for pilfering. At night they do not make the least noise; and a Dacoit will rob your tent while you are lying awake, without your having the least idea that any one has been there, till you miss your property in the morning. There does not therefore appear to be any means by which those robbers can be extirpated; for though one is taken, another immediately occupies his place; but till something shall be done with them, Bengal will never be half so productive as it otherwise might be.

There are a good many tanks in the Valley of the Ganges, which are filled in some places by the floods of the rivers, and in others by the rains. As the country is flat, those tanks are excavated, and they are generally lined with a mixture of lime and clay, so as to render them impervious. Those tanks are expensive works,

some of them having a surface of one hundred acres. Generally speaking, they are the property of government, and a tax is paid by the people for the use of the water; but in other cases they are constructed and kept in repair by individuals; and some idea of the value of irrigation may be formed from the fact, that he who constructs and keeps in repair a tank, is allowed one-fourth of the land which it waters, in property. Thus it is obvious, that the culture, by means of water from tanks, is far more costly than by that of rivers; and it need hardly be added that the wells are still more expensive.

South of Bengal, there are not many of the rivers adapted for irrigation, with the exception of the Cavery, and some of the other streams in the Carnatic; but on these, especially the Cavery, and the small river Bhawani, in the Coimbatoor district, the canals and water courses are constructed upon much more scientific principles than in any other part of India, so much so, that European engineers could hardly improve them.

Tanks, however, are, in the hilly district, the usual resources; and, in the Deccan, more especially toward Surat, they are very well constructed. There are, indeed, great inducements to their construction, for land that is watered

by tanks is, upon the average, worth eight times as much as that which is left to the rain; and as the rain sometimes fails, and the whole crop is lost, the people, but for the tanks, would live in a continual dread of famine. Some of the public tanks in the Carnatic are large lakes, as much as twenty-four square miles in area; and the tank belonging to a single village sometimes irrigates land upon which five thousand people are employed.

The wells are generally had recourse to in places where the rain is uncertain, or where, from the flat and porous nature of the surface, tanks cannot be rendered so available. The Balaghaut, Málwa, Gujerat, and Ajmeer, are the places where wells are most abundant. The depth of some of them has been already mentioned; but, as they have to be built strongly with masonry, to resist the pressure of the loose soil, even the depth gives no idea of the expense. In the dry part of Gujerat there is one well, which is said to have cost one hundred thousand pounds; and, after all, the water has to be drawn from a depth of more than three hundred feet. Boring, which has been found to answer so well in some parts of England, would be of little use in India, because the water, from the form of the surface, and consistency of the soil, would not rise.

One of the most remarkable wells in India is at the Jumma Musjeed, or principal mosque in Delhi. It was constructed at vast expense, by the Emperor Shah Jehan. The water is raised by machinery, and fills a small fish-pond in the area of the mosque. During the troubles, this well was allowed to fall into decay; but the British repaired it in 1809.

The picotah, or machine, by which the water is in many places drawn from those wells, is thus described by Sonnerat:—"Near the well, a piece of wood is fixed, forked at the top; on this fork another piece of wood is fixed, to form a swipe, which is fastened by a peg, and steps cut out at the bottom, so that the person who works the machine may easily get up and down. Commonly, the lower part of the swipe is the trunk of a large tree. To the upper part is fixed a pole, at the end of which hangs a leather bucket. A man gets up the steps to the top of the swipe, and supporting himself by a bambû screen erected at the well, he plunges the bucket into the side, and descending again, by his weight draws it up. Another man attends to pour the water into the basin, from which it runs in furrows over the whole field. The person who empties the bucket says, to encourage himself, 'one, two, three,' according to the number that he has emptied."

When rice is to be the crop, there are three modes of cultivation; dry seed, sprouted, and transplanted. In the first, the seed is allowed to come to maturity in the same land in which it is sown; in the second, the seed is put in water till it vegetates, and then it is thrown upon the field, previously reduced to the consistency of a puddle; in the third, the plants are reared upon a piece of very rich land, till they are about a foot in height, and the land that is to receive them is kept flooded. The plants are taken up with little balls of clay at the roots, which sink them to the bottom, and the plants stand erect, and grow without any further trouble. The first of these is used on dry lands, the other on flooded; and, if the flooding be artificial, the field is divided into squares of about ten yards on the side, with puddled margins, to retain the water. Good rice lands in Bengal yield about forty bushels per acre, and the best in Mysore about five bushels more; fifteen bushels of produce for one of seed, is reckoned a fair return. In Hindûstan Proper, though there are generally two rice crops in the year on the farm, they are very seldom on the same field. In the rich valleys, among the Ghauts, where the streams always contain water, there are often two crops on the land, and sometimes three. Rice is usually cut with the

sickle, and about four feet length of stubble left on the field for manure. The grain is beaten from the stalks, and the husks are removed by a wooden pestle and mortar. When it is to be stored, it is first scalded in hot water, and then dried in the sun. The granaries are generally constructed of teak, as a protection against vermin. The Dacca Jelalpoor district of Bengal, or doab of the Ganges and Brahmapootra, the greater part of which has the appearance of a sea in the rainy season, is the best rice country in India. Rice is the principal grain crop on the nunjah lands. When the land is exhausted for that, when the rain fails, and sometimes on the rice stubble, a dry crop is tried, which is called *nunjah mahal punjah*, or high and dry, wet culture. The best kinds of dry grain are sown in these cases; and the lands that are watered from wells by the pecotah, are usually of this description, that mode of watering being too expensive for rice, on account of the great quantity of water necessary to ensure a crop.

In Gujerat, Malwa, and Allahabad, a good deal of wheat is sown, the culture of which is intermediate between that of the rice and the smaller grains, such as raggy and millet. Forty ploughings or scratchings, and a great deal of watering, are required for a good crop of wheat;

the average produce of wheat, upon the best land, is about fifty bushels an acre. September and October are the sowing months for wheat, and the reaping time is in March and April. The wheat is often mixed with other grain, or pulse, and even with oil plants and dye-weeds, so that the crop of the one is injurious to that of the other.

In the hilly districts of Northern Hindûstan, barley is the bread grain of the people, though, even there, flax and other oil plants are often mixed with it. In the south, cotton is often sown in the same field with pulse and raggy, and, as the gathering of the cotton requires a great deal of trampling on the field, much of the other crops is destroyed. When the culture is pure punjah, however, the people cannot trust to one crop, on account of the uncertainty of the season, and that is the chief reason why they mix together so many kinds.

The districts that are most famed for cotton, are Gujerat, especially some parts between the Mhye and Nerbudda, the country on the Tuptee, the south-west of Gundwana, some districts on the Jumnah, and the Tinnavelly district of the Carnatic; but cotton is so much required for the clothing of the people, that the culture for home consumption is very general, though the produce of the districts that

have been mentioned is the most esteemed in the markets. Cotton is often sown along with other crops; these are cut down before the rain sets in, and then the cotton advances to maturity; but the cotton crop is by no means a sure one, as it is almost equally injured by an excess of drought and of moisture. There are also very few lands that will bear two crops of cotton in succession. The importation of cotton from India into Britain is very great, the quantity for the year ending 5th January 1829, being more than thirty-two millions of pounds; and the sale price, fourpence halfpenny a pound.

Indigo has been a product of the country from time immemorial. The centre of Hindûstan Proper is the most favourable soil and climate for it; and it is found growing wild in the Doab of the Ganges and Jumnah. The quantity imported for the year formerly alluded to, was little short of ten millions of pounds; only one thirty-second part of the cotton, and about one-fourth of the indigo, were imported by the Company.

Opium.—The juice of the poppy *(papaver somniferum)* dried in the sun, is one of the commercial products, chiefly of Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Malwa; but it is rather an uncertain crop. Thirty or forty pounds of

opium is about the average produce of an acre; but the seed, which is in demand as an ingredient in the sweet cakes eaten by the upper classes of the Hindûs, generally weighs as much more; and an under crop of herbs, and sometimes of grain, is grown along with it.

On the totical lands, one of the most abundant and most valuable crops is sugar; and were the culture duly encouraged, India might, on account of the cheapness of labour, supply all the world with that article, at a lower rate than it can be procured any where else. Sugar-canes are grown only on the richest soils, and these are cropped with sugar only once in four or five years; but the produce is very abundant, and consequently the lands let high. In the best sugar district of India, the Rajahmundry division of the Circars, immediately to the north of the Godavery, the produce of a single acre of canes is about five thousand pounds weight; and when the juice is dried, molasses and all, into the jaggary, which is commonly used in the country, it is considerably more. The canes are planted in January, and are ready to cut down in the November following. A district in that part of India having less than two square miles of surface, produces as much sugar as one-fourth of the whole island of Jamaica; while the cultivation

of the plants, and the manufacture of the sugar probably does not cost one-fourth of the sum. The expense of producing sugar in the West Indies is more than twenty shillings a hundred weight—but call it that for the sake of simplicity; and the expense of producing as much as is yielded by one acre of the zemindaree of Peddapoor, in the Circars, would be forty-four pounds, the produce being forty-four cwt. per acre on the average. The number of acres in the district alluded to is one thousand one hundred; and thus the whole cost of cultivation would be, at the West India price, forty-eight thousand four hundred pounds, which, at the rate of one rupee per month, would maintain a population of thirty-six thousand Hindûs. A negro and a half per hogshead is a high allowance in Jamaica; but say that two Hindûs would be required, and that the other expenses amounted to as much, which would not be the case in India, we have for the whole manufacture of the two thousand seven hundred hogsheads, the labour of ten thousand eight hundred Hindûs,; deduct that from forty-eight thousand four hundred, and we have a saving of thirty-seven thousand six hundred; or the cost of a hundred weight of sugar in India is to the cost of the same in Jamaica, as one hundred and eight is to four hundred and eighty four, or as twenty-seven to one hundred and twenty-

one, or, while it costs one pound in the one country, it costs only four and sixpence in the other. There has been a great deal said about a revenue from India, and many schemes have been tried in order to obtain one—though not with very great success; and yet it is pretty clear, that had the same attention been paid to the making of sugar that has been paid to the making of nabobs, the one trade would have been as much a profit as the other has been a loss. It is true that the interests of the West India colonists has been in the way; but it is equally true, that when any branch of trade would be a benefit to the whole country, the partial interests of no class ought to be permitted to stand in the way of it; and if West Indians, or any other class of persons whatever, cannot support themselves, but by that indirect sort of beggary which hurts all the rest, they ought to be left to themselves.

No doubt the sugar of India, as now imported, is inferior to that of the Columbian Archipelago; but that partly arises from the way in which it is manufactured. Once make it a staple trade of India, and it would soon improve.

Tobacco is cultivated to a considerable extent on the totical lands. The plant is not a native of India, any more than the sugar cane

is of the west, but was introduced about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many places of India are famed for the flavour of their tobaccos; but perhaps there is none equal, and certainly none superior, to that of the district of Bilsa, on the north side of the Vindhaya ridge, near the source of the river Betwah.

In all the crops produced by the Hindûs, the soil and the watering are the chief means. The ploughing, as we have seen, is very inferior, and what they call hoeing is not much better: some of the roughest weeds are removed by it, but that is all. Predatory animals are so numerous in India, that the crops require a great deal of watching, both after the seeds are sown, and before they vegetate, and when they begin to ripen. The districts near the jungles, where there are elephants and wild cattle, are apt to suffer from the depredations of these, when they are green; but, generally speaking, the most annoyance is given by birds. Men, or boys, armed with slings, are stationed about the fields to drive off these, raised upon little towers of clay in the dry season, and stages with roofs over them, during the rains. Those watchmen make a great deal of noise, but they seldom use the sling, lest they should be guilty of the sin of taking away animal life. In some

places the watching must be continued both night and day; because, though the birds retire at night-fall, the large bats occupy their place, and carry on their depredations during the night.

Though mangoes, Palmyra palms, and other trees, be favourites with the Hindûs in most parts of the country, and though they appear to have more regard for the tree planted by their fathers than for anything else, yet Bengal, and the lower part of the Valley of the Ganges generally, are not well adapted for the growth of fruit, or even of the common culinary vegetables. In the vegetating season, there is too much moisture, and too little sun; and thus, though there be abundance of growth, the fruits do not ripen, and the vegetables are insipid. In the elevated tracts, the culture of gardens is more successful, and in Mysore in particular, much attention is paid to them. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Emperor Shah Jehan expended nearly a million sterling in the formation of royal gardens near Delhi; and Hyder and Tippoo had fine gardens near Bangalore. Those gardens were divided by walks into a number of little plots, and each plot was generally planted with one vegetable, remarkable for its foliage, its flowers, and its fruit. Tippoo had some of the trees and

fruits of temperate climates; the oak, the cypress, the peach, and the apple. Indeed the ground about Bangalore is so well adapted for gardens, that a great part of it is under garden culture. It is a rich black soil, of great depth, and, from the elevation, the climate is rather temperate. Water is generally found at the bottom of the soil too; so that when wells become necessary, the depth of them seldom exceeds twenty feet. Those places of India are, however, too warm for the vegetables of Europe.

Near the towns there is always a great deal of vegetable culture,—melons, water-melons, gourds, cucumbers, various species of egg plants, Chilli peppers, and many others, which are variously dressed in curries and soups. In all places of India where gardening is a separate occupation, the gardener is accounted a lower order of the caste than the grain farmer.

The pastures of India are in general wretched. Vegetation disappears from the surface altogether in the dry season; and the grapes, which spring up and look green during the rains, are chiefly of the bent, or *agrastis* genus (sp. *Indica lenta*, and some others), which are too hard for being eaten, and contain little nourishment. There are exceptions, however. The Purneah

district of Bengal, the lucky jungle in the west of Delhi, and north of Ajmeer, some parts of the Mysore, the country above the Western Ghauts, and a good deal of Gujerat, afford fine pastures. The chief products of the dairy, besides milk, are cheese and ghee, which are made indiscriminately from the milk of the cow and the buffalo. The quantity of cheese is not great, and the quality is very inferior. Ghee is a much more general article; and perhaps it is necessary to use butter in that form in a country where it so soon turns rancid. It usually takes a great deal of milk to produce a very little butter. The butter is kept two days, at the end of which it is quite rancid; so it is taken and melted, and kept boiling till no more vapour will rise from it, at which time it is of course the animal fixed-oil, without any admixture. In that state it is put into pots, or leather bottles, and is called ghee. Wool is of little value in India, and in the low and warm districts, where fortunately wool is not wanted, sheep do not thrive. In the Balaghaut country, where the people wear a sort of blanket, sheep are better; but still it takes the fleeces of nearly a score to make a decent blanket, or camelay, for one man.

Though the wages of agricultural labour in India be small in amount, they are not so small

in comparison to their wants as the wages of the same class of persons in England; and consequently there is little of what we call common begging in the country. To live upon alms there is too honourable for the inferior castes, being the only mode of life worthy of the holiest Brahmins. Slave labour is not general; but on the Malabar coast, the field labour is in some districts performed by slaves, who are the slaves of the masters, as in the West Indies, and not of the soil, as in some parts of Europe. These are sold very cheap, the average for a young man and his wife being about seven pounds; and if they have two or three children, these are worth perhaps two pounds more. Those slaves are worse fed, and more harshly treated, than the negroes in the West Indies; and yet in one respect they have the advantage over these: a man and his wife cannot be separated; and whenever a slave girl chooses to marry one of her own caste, she passes over to her husband's master without purchase.

From the short notice that we have taken of the agricultural industry of the Hindûs, it must have already appeared to the reader, that the people of no country stand more in need of an excellent government,—of a government that is intimately acquainted with all their habits, that will treat them with mildness and forbearance,

and that will devote to those public works that are so essential, not only to make the country prosperous, but absolutely to keep the people from perishing of famine, every rupee that can be spared after the proper administration of the government. The tanks, the water-courses, the wells, are all too costly for being made and kept in order by individuals; and as for public roads, there is hardly any such in India. These are wanted—they are among the very essential elements of improvement; without them a country cannot be united. As for supporting them by tolls, that would be out of the question; and considering that the government divides with the farmer the whole of his produce, it ought to afford him every accommodation without any additional expense.

If the British are to continue in India—and that, under some modification or other, they will so continue, we may take for granted—there is very much to do for India, before any revenue, even if it were possible to get it—which is a very debateable question—could honestly come to England. Nay, there must be a good deal more capital than has yet been expended sent out to India, before all be done that ought to be done there. This may at first sight seem a hardship; but in reality it is not. We would pity a man whom we should find condemned to stand

supporting the roof of an old house upon his shoulders; but if we were told that the man had voluntarily thrust himself into that position, and after he had got into it, had kicked away all the other props, we would cease to pity him, and admit that the pressure on him were perfectly just. The power of the British in India is quite a parallel case. The Company have reduced the native powers and rulers in India to nothing. It may be for the good of the people; or it may not. That has nothing to do with the general question, but must be decided on the particular facts. But they have made the country, in itself, defenceless: and if they do not protect it, it must be the prey of any one who pleases. They have made it more completely defenceless than ever it was made by any former conquerors. These, in the very paroxysm of their subjugating, always left something to the Hindûs; but the Company have left them nothing—not the very meanest office. It is not the nature of Hindû society that the people should be very aspiring: the superstitions of religion and castes prevent that; but patronage, even the smallest patronage, has been so sweet to the Company, that they have not left so much as the tax-gatherership of a village open to the natives of India. The structure of society among the people themselves nar-

rowed honourable ambition to a small number; but the Company have swept away the whole. The train of reflection that this view of the matter opens up is long, and it is far from pleasant; but as it is one which must naturally suggest itself to the reader, the following of it out is quite unnecessary. We shall, therefore, glance at the other branches of Hindû industry.

The productions of the loom have been the manufacture for which India has been most celebrated; and as long as the people of the west were obliged to spin with their fingers, there was not even a chance that the texture of their cotton fabrics should be equal to that of those of India; and though since the people of Europe began to spin with their heads, they have far exceeded the Hindûs in the cheapness of their manufactures, there is no question that the fabrics of India are still more durable, if not more beautiful.

The eastern coast of the Peninsula, and the Valley of the Ganges, are the places of India that have been most famed for their cotton manufactures. Those for the trade of Madras are collected all the way from Cape Comorin to Ganjam, near the Chilka lake, in the Circars; the principal part of the goods is made in the Circars, although the manufacture be

spread along the coast for an extent of fifteen hundred miles. The manufacture is also carried on in Orissa, Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad and Oude. The fabrics vary with the districts, both on account of the different qualities of the cotton, and the different habits of the people, who are just as unvarying in their industry, as they are in their other customs. The muslins of Dacca have long been famed for their exquisite texture, though the cotton is not the produce of that part of the country. But the strong cotton, which forms the stripes or cords in some of the muslins and in the dimities, grows in that district. The destruction of the Mahomedan power has been a severe blow to the manufacturers of Dacca, as much of the finest manufacture was brought up for the courts and zenanas of the emperor and his omrahs. Many of the families by whom that fine manufacture was carried on, have now abandoned it; and the art is in some danger of being lost. Cottons of common fabric, as well as figured ones of various kinds, still continue to be manufactured in many parts both of the Valley of the Ganges and of Orissa. Chintzes are chiefly produced in the Calcutta and Benares districts, and in the Masulipatam district of the Circars. The effect that the British trade now has upon the cot-

tons, which are the staple manufacture of India, may be judged of from the fact, that the quantity annually sent out much exceeds that sent home, and that many places in the East that used to take supplies wholly from India, are now in part or in whole supplied with British manufacture; also that cotton twist and yarn, to the amount of nearly four hundred thousand pounds, are annually sent from this country to India. The quantity of British cottons, in fabrics of some sort or other, sent out to India in the year ending the fifth of January 1829, amounted to about forty-three millions of yards, and the estimated value to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling: so that the whole value of manufactured cotton sent to that country, amounted to more than two millions. The whole of the cotton imported from India, during the same year, amounted to little more than nine hundred thousand pounds, of which more than six hundred thousand pounds were cotton wool, and about one third of the remainder nankins from China. So that the quantity of cotton, in some stage of manufacture, sent from Britain to India, is ten times the value of that sent from India to Britain. We hear a great deal about the protection of this trade, and the other trade, at home or in the colonies, and sacrifices must be made here, in order to afford a protection there;

but that which we have stated is the result of the protection which the East India Company have afforded to the staple manufacture of their subjects in the East,—of those subjects from whom they are fondly (and, if the term were not an ungracious one to apply to rulers, we would say foolishly) hoping to receive a revenue. This is so different from the usual way in which people are treated, when a surplus revenue is expected from them, that we cannot help expressing a little wonder at it; and though there were not one other debateable feature in the whole case, we think that this would go far to decide the question, to show that any number of men, living in this country, and actuated by British interests, cannot by possibility have such watchfulness over the welfare of their distant subjects, as a local government would have, however imperfect it might be in the details. Truly the Company would do well to make the fable of "the boy and the goose" a standing homily on court-days, and to print it rubric to all their legislation craft.

It is true that the Company are not the chief exporters of cotton wool from India, or the chief importers of cotton twist and cotton fabrics into that country; these are done to the greatest extent by the free traders; and it is clearly the interest of the British to push their

goods into every place where they can find a profitable market. But that does not exonerate the rulers of India. If they levy the revenue, they thereby bind themselves to find protection for the people, in their industry as well as their persons; and the case is not a jot altered by the fact that the Company have got themselves into debt, which they never can possibly discharge. The anticipation of that might have been very good, as a matter of warning, before the Company laid themselves under the heavy obligation that is upon them; but it does not palliate any neglect of the interests of the people. It may be very true that the present rulers of India may, from bias as well as ignorance, be a little unfit for governing India, and fastidious persons are apt to say that the case cannot by possibility be otherwise. Upon that we do not enter—we look merely at the facts. The Company are *de facto* the rulers of India; and therefore, unless it be statute that truth is an absurdity as well as a libel, they are *de jure* bound to protect and promote the interests of the Hindûs, not only more than, but in opposition to, those of every other country whatever. If they do not—if they prefer the interests of any other country, or their own interests as members of the community of any other country, to the interests of

the Hindûs—then, by every principle of the law of nations, they are guilty of high treason against the population of India, and are, in justice, obnoxious to that punishment which the said law of nations awards for the offence; nor have they any plea in arrest of judgment according to that law, but the usual reason why man or monarch needs not be convicted. This applies to the Company, and it applies yet more forcibly to the Board of Controul, inasmuch as they are members of the administration of England, and stand bound by their oaths to prefer the interests of England to those of every other nation. How such a contrariety of interests works we need not inquire; for, whatever may be the good intention toward India, the good deed will always be done for England and Englishmen. This however is not the usual view of the question, nor is it one which any party in England will be very willing to take; as, until a similarity—for which there is not at present one ground of hope—shall take place between India and England, reason never can find out how the English can conduct themselves in such a manner in India as to give them, in abstract justice, a competent title to the revenues of that country. They have the revenue, however, and it is just as difficult to see how they are to get

rid of it, with advantage to themselves or the people of India, as it is to see how they can continue to keep it without plunging themselves deeper in debt, and probably in injustice. Any men, but especially men of unquestionable honour and unspotted character, deserve commiseration, when they are found in such a dilemma.

The antiquity of the cotton manufacture, if it stood in need of proof, would be proved by those who are engaged in it being particular castes; but it is not a little remarkable, that one of the first operations in the manufacture should be performed by Mahomedans, and the Mahomedans also spin the warp, which is of course the best yarn. The cotton is removed from the seeds by very simple rollers, and the little machine is found in every house. The cotton is then beaten by the string of a bow, something in the same manner as hatters beat the wool that they are to felt. This is the operation performed by the Mahomedans, and hence it is probable that it is not ancient among the Hindûs, but that it is better than their original method of carding, whatever it may have been. The woofs are spun by the country women, and are almost the only occupation by which they can earn any thing for the supply of their humble wants. There have been

complaints made in England of the loss to the labourer from the use of machinery. Those complaints are not well founded, because the machine works cheaper, and the labourer comes in, in some other way, for his share of the saving; but while the machine-twist deprives the poor Hindû woman of her handful of rice, or her little bit of raggy-cake, as hard and black as a stone, there is no compensation for her,—no, not so much as a poor-rate. She may die in her own way; for her moan is too feeble for being heard at the collector's bungalow.

In those districts where the cotton is spun, the women are at work even before it is light; they buy the weekly supply of cotton at the village markets, and dispose of the yarn to the weavers. The machinery used for spinning and for winding the yarn is exceedingly simple. The weavers also reside in the villages, and when there is a demand, no scene can be more busy than the cloth districts of India. Man, woman, and child are all employed in one way or another; and they are all in the open air. The loom of the weaver is very rude. It is placed under a tree in the morning, and removed to the hut at night. It consists of four forked sticks set in the ground—two pieces across these, to which the ends of the web are

attached—for the warp is not rolled on a beam, as in the British mode of weaving. The hiddles for forming the shed are but sticks and strings, which are fastened above to the tree which shelters the weaver, and he gets a foot into each of the two loops at the bottom. No European could manufacture the coarsest canvas, upon an apparatus with which the Hindû produces at once the most beautiful and the most durable textures.

Under the Madras Presidency there are, or at least there used to be, eleven factories, which could produce annually goods to the value of about a million sterling; but the quantity now does not amount to one tenth, or by the Company, to the one hundred part of that. Money is advanced to the weavers, who are taken jointly bound for the furnishing of the goods; and if, which is often the case, they live scattered over the country, native agents are employed. When the weaver does not finish his web at the time contracted for, a peon, or countryman, is put in possession of his house, and the weaver must pay him at the rate of an *ana*, the sixteenth of a rupee, or nearly three halfpence each day. The average earning of a weaver is about four rupees, or seven shillings and nine-pence per month, so that the tenpence halfpenny to the peoon is a considerable fraction of his earnings.

The bleaching of the Hindûs is very simple, as the sun, with the assistance of water alone, tends to produce a pure white. When cottons are to be coloured, they used to be worn for a week, soaking in a ley of animal matter, washed, soaked in curdled buffalo's milk, and dried, the refuse of the milk being first taken off. The mordaants are,—for black, iron prepared by sour palm-wine; and for most of the other colours, alum water. In the fine chintzes, the patterns are drawn on paper, which is pierced in the margins of the figures, and transferred to the cloth by beating with a bag of coloured powder. When the pattern has been traced, one colour is laid on topically with a brush of a piece of wood beat to fibres, or a bunch of fibres of the coire of the cocoa-nut. The piece is then worn till it be completely dirty, and then thoroughly washed. If the colour stands that, another is put on; and the process is repeated for each colour, so that the permanence of all is ascertained. The colouring matters are chiefly Indigo for the blues; gum-lac for the reds, though other other substances be used, and the cochineal has been introduced, especially in Mysore, where the castus, on which it feeds, forms hedge rows; turmeric, or Indian saffron (*curcuma longa*), for the yellows; and iron, and the marking nut (*anacardium semecarpus*), for black.

Shades of colour are produced by the mixture of these; and there are some colours produced by substances that are not well known to Europeans. Some idea of the advantage that Britain derives from the spinning of cotton by machinery may be obtained by this fact: cotton can be imported from India, spun into yarn in this country, exported again to India, and sold, on the average, for one shilling and ninepence, while the spinner in India, to earn only about three farthings per day, cannot produce the finest yarn under an expense of less than three or four shillings a pound, or about fifteen times the value of the cotton. An occupation which is so tedious, and affords so very small a remuneration to the labourer, could not, of course, be carried on except as an occasional employment by the women and children; and it cannot possibly stand a competition with the produce of machinery.

Perhaps there is nothing in which the real advantage of the application of science to the arts appears more conspicuous than in the manufacture of cotton; and fine as the fingers of the Hindûs are, they are really nothing to the artificial fingers produced by the machinist of Britain. Nor is there the slightest chance that the manufactures of India can ever regain the ground that they have lost; so that there is not

now any thing of which the Hindû can dispose profitably, but the raw produce of his soil; for cheap as the maintenance is, human labour is much more costly in India than the labour of machines is in Europe; and we make no question that the cotton yarn of England is a material saving to the Hindû weaver in the production of an equal number of yards of cloth, whatever it may be to the wearer in the quality of lasting. The reduction which it has effected in this country is astonishing. In 1775, cotton yarn, No. 80, cost two guineas a pound for mere spinning; at present, No. 100, which is much finer, is spun for eight-pence, and the yarn itself does not sell for more than five shillings;—and Britain manufactures more cotton than probably all the world beside.

Of the produce of the Indian loom, silk is the next in value to cotton, and it appears to be an ancient manufacture in India, though it perhaps never reached the same perfection there as in China. The principal places for the rearing of silk-worms are in the Burdwar district of Bengal, and on the upper Ganges, near the mountains; though there is a wild silk-worm in some places farther to the south, from which a coarse silk is prepared. The best silk manufactures are about Monshedabad, and the ornamental fabrics are made about Benares.

Knit silk stockings are made at Cossimbazar, and in many places there are manufactures of a mixture of silk, with worsted, for the consumption of the country. The total value of silk sent from India to England in the year ending 5th January, 1829, was about a million and a quarter, and of that, the million was raw silk, and only the quarter manufactured. So that, as a manufacture for exportation, the silk of India does not rank a great deal higher than the cotton. It does, however, rank a little higher, and it must, for the silk trade, if it does admit of as much improvement by the application of machinery as the cotton, has certainly not got so much in England. One reason for that may be, that till lately it *suffered* the protection of a system of exclusive laws; and the manufacture has certainly improved very much in the short time that has elapsed since that was removed.

The woollen manufactures of India are on a still smaller scale than the silk. In the low countries neither the wool nor the climate answer. In the colder parts of the southern Balaghaut, the camelays, which are so much worn by the country people, are of native wool, and generally of the natural colour. Flannels are made about Patna; and carpets in various places, those of Ellore in the Circars being ac-

counted the best. Canvas is made both from cotton and from sunn hemp, and cables from the fibres of the cocoa-nut; but none of these can be considered as articles of export.

In working metals, the Hindûs are far behind the inhabitants of Europe; and the branches in which they excel are not those that are of the greatest use. Arms are the articles which they manufacture best; their swords are of good temper, and often laboriously ornamented. Some articles in brass, such as water pots, are also well made; and a few articles of jewellery are tolerably well executed.

Glass-making is understood and practised; but the Hindûs have not the art of making it transparent; and they cannot produce a heat sufficient to fuse the materials properly: hence it is both soft and opaque. This glass is chiefly made at Muteodu, in the Mysore, where both the sand and the soda that enter into its composition are found in the same field. It is of various colours, and principally made into rings, which the Hindû women use as bracelets. It is much softer than the most common glass of Europe; the furnaces of the Hindûs not being powerful enough for melting that.

The grand characteristic of all the arts in India is the obvious want of power. The hands do their work well, but there is an obvious

want of head. There is no science, and no emulation. Each man follows the occupation which his father followed, and performs the same operation that his father performed—performs it, too, in the same manner; and thus, though one generation follows another, it is the revolution of one dull wheel, and the appearance is still the same. There have been some imitations of European articles, made for Europeans; but it may be very gravely questioned whether, during the last thousand years, the whole native intellect of India has contrived a single machine or tool for the effecting of any native purpose.

The pottery of the Hindûs is rude and coarse, although, from the quantity of decomposed feldspar that there is in the country, the materials should be good as well as abundant; but a clay vessel, dried in the sun, is generally all that is wanted. In any thing, however, that merely requires "handling," the Hindûs excel. Some of their embroidered leather is very rich; and their cabinet work, especially that which is made about Vizagapatam, in the Circars, is tastefully inlaid and painted, and beautifully polished. In the north of India Proper, a very fine paper is made from the inner bark of a tree. It is, though thin, much tougher than

the paper of Europe, and is often gilt, cut into slips, and woven into the ornamented cloths.

The indigo has been already mentioned. Cochineal, though but a recent introduction, is produced in considerable quantities; though in quality it is not equal to that of America. The aromatic oils and essences are very simple manufactures; and so much of the operations of making saltpetre and salt are done by the soil and the climate, that they can hardly be called manufactures at all.

The only contrivances that deserve the name of machinery are mills. Hand-mills, bearing some resemblance to the quern, anciently used in Britain, and still met with in some of the very remote parts of Scotland, are in general use; but they are so effectless that two persons cannot grind above fifty pounds of coarse flour in a day. In some parts of the north, however, there are water-mills for grinding wheat and barley, but they are small and rude. The oil-mills are often worked by bullocks. They consist of a pestle and mortar; the mortar being fixed in an upright block of wood, and the pestle being worked round by means of a cross-piece and beam, to which the bullocks are yoked. The man who conducts the mill rides upon the cross-piece, prevents the seeds

from falling over the sides of the mortar; and collects the oil as it is produced. The following notes on their arts and artists, by Sonnerat, are accurate at the present time:—

"The Indian carpenter knows no other tools than the plane, chisel, wimble, a hammer, and a kind of hatchet. The earth serves him for a shop-board, and his foot for a hold-fast; but he is a month in performing what one workman will do in three days.

"The sawyer places his wood between two joists fixed in the ground; and, sitting carefully on a little bench, employs three days, with one saw, to make a plank which would cost our people an hour's work.

"The blacksmith carries his tools with him, his forge, and his little furnace, working wherever he is employed. He sets up his forge before the house of the person who calls him, and with the dirt of the place makes a little wall, before which he places his hearth. Behind the wall are two leather bellows, which his apprentice keeps going by alternately pressing on the top. In this manner the fire is kept up. A stone serves for an anvil, and his whole apparatus consists of a pair of pincers, a hammer, a mallet, and a file. In the villages, the carpenter and blacksmith are often conjoined in the same individual.

"The Indian goldsmith carries his shop with him wherever he is sent for. His furnace is an earthen pot; an iron pipe serves him for bellows, and a pair of pincers, a hammer, a file, and a small mallet, are all his tools. He makes his crucible on the spot, with clay, mixed with charcoal and cow-dung.

"The shoemaker has no other tools than an awl and a knife—no shop for leather or lasts. When a pair of shoes are wanted, the money must be advanced, and with this money he buys a sheepskin, which he prepares on the same day, and on the morrow brings the shoes. From the shoemakers working in leather, and eating meat, they are held in the greatest contempt by the other Indians, who esteem them the lowest order of men. They are, in fact, not a caste at all, but Pariars, and employed as executioners, and in carrying out dead bodies."

Until the recent construction of some military and hackery roads by the British, which are yet very rude, and liable to be much injured by the rains, there never was any thing that could be considered as a highway in India. In the countries on the Ganges and Indus, the inland trade is yet in great measure carried on by the rivers. There are probably not less than three hundred thousand men employed

in the conducting of boats in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar alone. As far as Patna, the boats are large, generally about one hundred tons burden, and even yet they have to be armed on account of the dacoits and river pirates. The boats that are used higher up the rivers, and also in the Hoogly, below Calcutta, where there are shallows, are flat, and without keels. On the Indus, some of the boats do not draw more than a few inches of water. Poles and tracking are more frequently used than oars; and even on the Ganges, when low, the boatmen are constantly getting into the mud to push the craft along. Where there are not carriages by water, the usual mode of conveying goods is by bullocks, buffaloes, or sometimes horses, and in the north by camels. One driver manages four bullocks or buffaloes, and the carriers are often the owners of the goods. Caravanseras, or durm sallahs, are erected for their shelter, and in these they may cook their own food, or find provisions from the Brahmins or others, who are always found near the halting places. There is a great deal of this carrying trade between the Deccan and Bengal, and generally between the countries below and above the Ghauts. In the Deccan, those carriers form a class, and are said to be the descendants of the camp-followers of some of the successors

of Acbar, in their inroads into that part of India. There are itinerant grain merchants, who are styled banjarries, who travel in bands, chiefly when the country is in a state of war; and when they do not find the carrying trade profitable, they reside in one place, and become cultivators. There are also travelling merchants, or banyans, who, while they have a fixed residence and trade in some part of the country, traverse other parts, attended by coolies, or porters. There is an inferior class of hawkers, generally Mahomedans, who perambulate the country with light wares, and, as is the case with the same class in most other places, they are not very much celebrated for the honesty of their dealings.

In many parts of India there are weekly markets, at which the people of the district may dispose of their produce, and purchase cotton or any other commodity that they may require; and there are two or three places at which there are great fairs. The chief of these are Cooloo in Orissa, Nolucky Hant in Bengal, and Hurdwar in Delhi. The fair at Cooloo is a cotton fair; that at Nolucky Hant, is chiefly for the weavers of the Dacca district; and that at Hurdwar is of a more general nature. The most singular custom at the last mentioned fair is the fact that the

bargains are carried on without any words; the parties speak by touching the joints of each other's fingers; and in order that they may not be seen by the by-standers, there is a cloth thrown over their hands. The customs by which business is accompanied are all remarkably rude, and point out an origin in a state of society that had derived very little advantage from civilization; and though the Company have certainly put down some of the excesses that used to take place at these assemblages they have not made them much more rational.

As may naturally be supposed from the state of degradation to which they are sunk by religion, by caste, and by the long period of oppression to which they have been subjected, the Hindûs are, generally speaking, an indolent people, and work only under the impulse of necessity. When the weaver has got possession of three or four rupees, he often absents himself until it be spent; and it is very doubtful whether their morals may not have suffered from the residence of the British, and the introduction of liquor-shops by them. Although the use of liquors is forbidden by the Hindû law, those houses are said to be frequented not only by the pariahs, and low castes, but by the Brahmins themselves; and as the frequenters of such places are held in detestation by the

wealthy Hindûs, there can be little question that the houses degrade the people, encourage them in idleness, and in all those vices of which idleness is so productive. Indeed, if the people of India have not been much benefited by the law of England, it is not easy to see how they can have escaped being injured by the lawlessness. A rude people first learn the vices of their more civilized visitors; and it does not appear that India is an exception.

CHAPTER X.

TOWNS, &c.

CALCUTTA.

NOT the least amusing of the lighter features in the picture of India, is the appearance of our countrymen there. The expense of keeping a retinue of servants is so trifling, compared

with the cost of the same ostentation in England, that a person in a comparatively humble situation can afford, and generally has, a greater following than the first nobleman in England. In the towns at the respective Presidencies, it is not necessary for this following to be armed; and instead of that, the peons, or lackeys, carry silver sticks before the great man. Those sticks are sometimes short, and bent towards the upper end, and terminate in the head of a tiger or other animal. At other times they more resemble a beadle's mace, or the staff of a drum-major. In England they would appear exceedingly ridiculous, but they are necessary in India, where the people have no notion of greatness but the external show that it makes. There are persons whose hereditary office it is to perform all the possible duties that can be wanted in the most gaudy and luxurious establishment. These are sircars, or agents, that take charge of money matters; khânsamans, or stewards, who look after the general establishment; sirdar bearers, who direct the palanquin men on the march, and are the especial valets de chambre; with an endless list, each doing his own office humbly and faithfully, but never interfering with any work which is the duty of another, as that would be both polluting and being polluted. Whatever may be the

number of servants that are of caste, it is necessary to employ a pariah, in supplement, for the cleaning of shoes, as the touching of leather is an especial abomination to a Hindû. In former times, when there were ways of getting wealth in India that are now obsolete, this pomp was sometimes extremely ludicrous. The palanquin was as gaudy with gilding, and almost as costly, as a Lord Mayor's coach; the umbrella that was carried over it as gorgeous as the canopy at a coronation dinner; the number of gold sticks, silver sticks, and peons, armed with spear and shield, and, save the shred of cloth round their middle, clad in the "dun night-gown" of their own skins, were almost past counting; so that a merchant, a writer, or a subaltern in the army, might have passed, with one ignorant of the customs of the country, for the Mogul himself; and the Governor General's appearance on state days might have been mistaken for an avatar of Vishnû;—nor is there any question that, had Clive been a Brahmin, and resided permanently in India, he would in due time have come to that honour. In those times, children had separate establishments before they could speak, and sahees paraded along with them, with led horses, ready caparisoned, before they could walk.

CALCUTTA, being the seat of the Governor

General, and the centre of the greatest wealth and trade of India, is, of course, the most remarkable among the British towns. It is large; and, both in its architecture and its inhabitants, the most motley city on the face of the earth.

Calcutta is situated on the left or east bank of the Hoogly, about one hundred miles from the sea; and Fort William, the citadel, stands in latitude 22° 23′, and longitude 88° 28′. The ground on which it is built being low and flat, was originally very unwholesome, from the numerous marshes and thick jungles in the immediate vicinity; and even now it is far from healthy, as it is affected by the pestilent air from the Sunderbunds. The soil is an alluvion, of great depth; and it has the characteristic of most part of the lower Valley of the Ganges, in being quite impervious to water, so that there is not anything like a spring or fountain, nor has any appearance of water been met with upon boring to the depth of one hundred and fifty feet. This is just what might be looked for in a river deposit consisting of clay and vegetable matter; and possibly the boring would have to be carried considerably deeper than the present bottom of the Bay of Bengal, off Sagor. Trees have been met with in the soil at Calcutta, sixty feet below the surface, with the

stumps of the trunks erect, and the remains of the roots evidently in the situation in which they had grown, but without any part of the upper branches,—shewing that an unusual deposition of mud had taken place for some years, and then the floods had swept off the parts of the trees that were exposed. In other places, traces of these strata of soil have been met with at a depth of about fifty feet; but whether these have been the native vegetation of the places where they are found, or a deposit brought down from the upper country, there are, of course, no means of ascertaining. The whole of those deposits tend to shew, that the accumulation of matter in the Valley of the Ganges has been going on for a great length of time, and render it probable that what is now the plain of Bengal had, at one time, been an arm of the sea.

Some partial amelioration of the climate of Calcutta has been effected, by keeping the surface drained as far as possible, and opening cuts through the jungle; but while so much land in the neighbourhood is under wet culture for rice, the place cannot be healthy: and were it not for the constant transfer of air produced by the current and tide of the Ganges, it would not be habitable by Europeans. Though the water of the Ganges is holy,

it is by no means pure, and its very sacredness adds not a little to the impurity, as the carcasses of animals and devotees float pretty copiously upon its tide, and do not give out the most fragrant of perfumes. The current, however, which runs along with considerable rapidity, makes amends; and, while it promotes the salubrity of the air, it is very favourable to internal trade. There are some canals that add to the navigation; though both rivers and canals are difficult to manage in the delta of the Ganges. When the rains come, the mud gets so soft, and the banks are so much broken down, that the navigation is always liable to seasonal interruptions; while in water that has not a current, jungles and aquatic plants are constantly springing up, impeding the passage by their mass, and tainting the air by their exhalations.

There are few towns that have risen so rapidly to a vast population as Calcutta. Not more than eighty years ago it was a mere village, and the situations where the best houses are now were jungles. In proceeding up the river the first object that presents itself is the fort. The works are very low, and there are hardly any buildings within the walls, so that its appearance is far from striking. It is a decent piece of engineering, however, and very well

kept,—the only objection to it being a very common one in all the proceedings and works of the English toward India. It is a little too splendid. The works are admirably planned, both for commanding the river, and standing a siege; but then they are so extensive, that ten thousand troops are necessary to man them properly. The fort is an octagon, with five regular sides toward the land, and three irregular ones toward the water. The latter need no defence but the artillery, of which a great force is accumulated, and very skilfully placed. The curtains on the land sides are defended by outworks, the salient angles of which project so far that they could take the trenches of a besieging army in reverse, while the flanks of the bastions are so constructed that they could not be raked *en ricochet.*

The body of the place is left open, or only laid out in walks, and planted with trees, the shade of which is very agreeable. The greatest disadvantage about the fort is the want of water, which, considering that it is on the very margin of a great river, is not what would be expected; but, in the dry season, indeed at almost all seasons, the water of the river is filthy, and it is not filtered by the soil. There are wells in the outworks of the fort, and they contain water; but that water oozes through that portion of

the soil which is strongly impregnated with salt. Thus the water of the wells becomes so brackish in the dry season, that it cannot be used, and recourse is had to the usual mode of obtaining water,—preserving the rain in tanks.

Between the fort and the town there is an open esplanade for a considerable extent, which is offensive with mire in the wet season, and more so with dust in the dry; but it is spacious, and the view of the town from it, so far as a perfectly flat view can be, is fine. The houses are generally detached from each other; and they are stuccoed over with lime, which, when they are clean, gives them the appearance of marble palaces. The style of architecture, which is a sort of Grecian or Roman, is not much better adapted to the climate of India than it is to the climate of England; and though the colonnades and friezes do not collect so much smoke as they do in London, they are not without their inconveniences. What is wanted in India is shade from the sun at one time, and shelter from the rain at another; and as the Grecian portico and Italian verandah are not calculated to afford either, all the ornaments of the houses are useless and out of place. They are pierced by a vast number of windows, upon which the thick blinds and mats shew

that the houses have been erected, just because it is the fashion for Englishmen to erect such houses in their own country, and without any reference to what would be most convenient in India. In the wooden parts of the houses, the white ants are apt to commit terrible havoc. They advance in their covered ways, either on the outside or inside of the building, as may best suit their purposes, and when they reach a beam, they consume the whole interior, without making any apparent alteration in the exterior; and thus the owner is not aware that his abode has sustained any damage until it tumbles, in whole, or in part, about his ears. The expense of building is very considerable at Calcutta; and as the houses are not, from the corrosive nature of the atmosphere, durable, rents are, probably, higher in proportion.

One of the greatest singularities to a stranger in Calcutta is the number of wild animals. Birds swarm in all places, and are perched upon the tops of all the houses. These are chiefly of the foul-feeding kinds,—crows, kites, vultures, and the adjutant, or large stork. But so far from being deemed an annoyance, these birds are useful. The Hindûs do not eat animal food; the wealthy Europeans are profuse, and what they have at their feasts can be only in small part consumed by the pariahs

and poor Portuguese. The remains are, therefore, thrown out; and would do the most serious injury to the healthiness of the place, if they were allowed to putrify, which they would do almost immediately in the open air. No sooner is any garbage thrown out than it is consumed by these birds during the day; while at night the jungles send forth a number of quadruped competitors in the pariah dogs, foxes, and jackals, which begin to announce their approach by incessant yelping as night falls, and carry on the work of scavengers till the morning.

As there are few competitors in the market for the food that Europeans use, the supply is abundant; and as the climate is against any more mental labour than may be necessary in the way of business, the people are very hospitable,—that is, they are very much given to the paying and receiving of visits. The morning is the usual time for business,—as when the day begins to be a little advanced, the heat is so great that it confines Europeans to their houses, unless they shall venture out in palanquins, which have, however, to be shaded under large umbrellas. Between one and two o'clock a tiffin, or lunch, is taken, after which it is not unusual to indulge in two or three hours of a siesta, after the fashion of the Spaniards. At

sunset the people come abroad in palanquins, or carriages, and on horse-back; and enjoy the air, which by that time has got cool, compared with what it was during the day. The enjoyment is not, however, of very long duration: the twilight in tropical countries being short, and darkness soon setting in. The drive is, however, often protracted beyond day-light; and in these cases the peons run along by the side of the carriages, bearing torches—a species of illumination which is very common in Calcutta. Dinner usually follows, and is almost invariably set down to by artificial light, while the sitting is protracted till after midnight. This renders the siesta as necessary as it is agreeable.

The English part of the town is all splendour and gaiety, and the public exhibitions given by the governor and principal officers are regal. One of the most splendid of them, and the most singular to a European, is the levee to the native princes, who attend in person, or are represented by their vakeels, or ambassadors. The principal part of the ceremony is the presenting of khelâts, or robes of honour. This is a Mahomedan custom, and was general at the Mogul court. We shall take the liberty of quoting the late Bishop Heber's account of one, which is characterised by that good sense and

playful naïveté, for which that amiable prelate was so much distinguished, and which, among other qualities, rendered his premature death so great a loss to India. "I went down," says the bishop, "to attend a Durbar, or native levee, of the Governor's, which all the principal native residents in Calcutta were expected to attend, as well as the vakeels from some Indian princes. I found on my arrival that the levee had begun, and that Lord Amherst, attended by his aides-de-camp, and the Persian secretary, had already walked down one side, where the persons of most rank, and who were to receive 'khelâts,' or honorary dresses, were stationed. I, therefore, missed this ceremony, but joined him, and walked round to those to whom he had not yet spoken, comprising some persons of considerable rank and wealth, and some learned men, travellers from different eastern countries, who, each in turn, addressed his compliments, or petitions, or complaints, to the Governor. There were several whom we thus passed who spoke English, not only fluently, but gracefully.

"After Lord Amherst had completed the circle, he stood on the lowest step of the throne, and the visitors advanced one by one to take leave. First came a young rajah, of the Rajpootana district, who had received that day the inves-

titure of his father's territories, in a splendid brocade khelât, and turban; he was a little, pale, shy-looking boy, of twelve years old. Lord Amherst, in addition to these splendid robes, placed a large diamond aigrette in his turban, tied a string of valuable pearls round his neck, then gave him a small silver bottle of ottar of roses, and a lump of pawn, or betel, wrapped up in a plantain leaf. Next came forward the vakeel, or envoy, of the Maharaja Sindia; also a boy, not above sixteen, but smart, self-possessed, and dandy-looking. His khelât and presents were a little, and but a little, less splendid than those of his precursor. Then followed Oude, Nagpoor, Nepâl, all represented by their vakeels, and each in turn honoured by similar, though less splendid, marks of attention. The next was a Persian Khân, a fine, military-looking man, rather corpulent, of a complexion not different from that of a Turk, or other southern Europeans, with a magnificent black beard, and a very pleasing and animated address. A vakeel from Sind succeeded, with a high red cap, and was followed by an Arab, handsomely dressed, and as fair, nearly, though not so good looking, as the Persian. These were all distinguished, and received each some mark of favour. Those

who followed had only a little ottar poured on their handkerchiefs, and some pawn. On the whole it was an interesting and striking sight, though less magnificent than I had expected, and less so, I think, than the levee of an European monarch. The sameness of the general part of the dresses (white muslin) was not sufficiently relieved by the splendour of the few khelâts; and even those which were of gold and silver brocade, were, in a great measure, eclipsed by the scarlet and blue uniforms, gold lace and feathers of the English. One of the most striking figures was the Governor General's native aide-de-camp, a tall, strong-built, and remarkably handsome man, in the flower of his age, and of a countenance at once kind and bold. His dress was a very rich hussar uniform, and he advanced last of the circle, with the usual military salute; then, instead of the offering of money which each of the rest made, he bared a small part of the blade of his sabre, and held it out to the Governor. The ottar he received, not on his handkerchief, but on his white cotton gloves." *Journal* I., 79.

But people must not allow themselves to be misled by the pomp of official men, and the glitter of gala days. For those Europeans and their descendants, who have no office, no favour, and

no connexion at court, Calcutta is no land of Goshen. In the mere article of food, they may do well enough upon very little money, if they will just wait till their more fortunate countrymen have dined, and bargain with the khânsaman for the broken victuals; but the natives can perform all sorts of work that is wanted so much cheaper, that there is not the least demand for British talent there, or in any other place in India. They know not the country; and then, if they speculate they have every chance of being ruined; and if they are tempted to borrow money, which is a much more easy matter than paying it again, their beggary is certain. In India, the European is no match for the Hindû, unless he is invested with government power; and, now at least, there is nothing but a connexion with the Company that can enable him to get any thing like a living. The natives are the folks that make the money, since all ambition for office was put an end to; and they contrive to deal with even the inconsiderate official men, something in the same way as the remnant of Jacob are understood to deal with the prodigal sons of England. These Hindûs occasionally give a sort of entertainment to the English; but the females do not appear, and the men, if of

high caste, neither eat nor drink with their guests. Singing and dancing, by professors, are the chief exhibitions; and in the houses of the more respectable Hindûs, the dress and gestures of the dancing girls are, upon these occasions, not modest merely, but absolutely demure. When the guests have seen enough of the entertainment, and not a great deal of it suffices, they adjourn to the supper rooms. The apartments of the Hindûs are, generally speaking, slovenly and mean; but upon those occasions, the court is converted into a hall, by spreading one piece of cloth upon it as a carpet, and covering it with another, by way of roof; and as the court has generally pillored galleries along the sides, the temporary apartment has no bad effect; and the women, who generally occupy upper apartments that look into the court, can see how matters go on, without being themselves seen.

Calcutta is not all a city of palaces, although it appears to be so when seen from the esplanade. Behind that there are some good houses, and Tank Square is rather spacious than otherwise. That square, which is about one thousand five hundred feet in the side, gets its name from a large tank, or reservoir, of water in the centre. What with excavation, what

with embanking, this tank is about sixty feet in depth, with a balustrade surrounding the top, and steps in the inside leading all the way to the bottom. A little beyond that, what is called "the black town" begins, and is the residence of the natives, and some of the poorer Europeans. The streets are narrow, crooked, unpaved, and filled with all manner of impurities; and did the Hindûs live upon animal food, and throw the refuse of that into the streets, that part of Calcutta could not be inhabited. Sometimes a brick house of two stories, with a flat roof, is met with in this part of town; and there are occasionally large abodes, inhabited by more wealthy natives; but in general the habitations have their walls formed of bambûs, mats, and other light matters, and the interior is nearly destitute of furniture. Eastward, the black town reaches within between one and five miles of the salt lagoon that extends into the Sunderbunds. As this piece of water is wholly, or nearly, stagnant, the vapours from it are so very pestilent, that it is known among even the Hindûs, by the name of the "bad water." The intermediate space is, as far as vegetation is concerned, a very luxuriant, but it is withal a very filthy suburb. Gardens, tanks, and puddles,

rank with vegetation, dirty huts, with all manner of abominations, are blended together.

The more wealthy of the English have often houses at a distance from the fort. When those houses are built in the cottage style, which is the one best adapted to the climate, they are, by the English, styled "bungalows;" and some of these, which have large verandahs and scandent plants trained to the pillars by which these are supported, would be picturesque. One of the most favourite places for those dwellings is Barrackpoor, on the same side of the Hoogly as Calcutta, only about sixteen miles farther up the river. It is there that the governor's country house is erected, to which there is attached a very pleasant though not very extensive park. The situation of the house is very pleasant, as the current of the tide brings a cooling wind from the south in the hot season. The country house is but small, but it is very neat, and there are other bungalows in the park, at which visitors, and those who attend the court when the governor is there, reside. In those places the sleeping apartments are generally on the south side of the house, and the verandahs are left open there, for the purpose of admitting free air.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT BARRACKPOOR.

FROM its being the occasional residence of the governor, a military station, and a favourite retreat of Europeans, Barrackpoor is a gay place; and in the cold season there are horse races. The trees in the park are very beautiful, and the place is lively from the number of boats that pass up and down the river, some of them of very large size, and others with men for masts. These men take their mantles, and setting a foot on each of two corners, holding one of the others in each hand, in such a way as to form a belly to receive the wind, making the light vessel glide on with more rapidity than would easily be believed.

There is a sort of menagerie in the park at Barrackpoor, but the number of animals in it is few, and they are not very interesting.

Elephants are, however, shown off there for the purposes of pomp, which is not the case in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, as they would produce mischief there by alarming the horses.

Madras is very different from Calcutta, the ground upon which it stands being as remarkable for sterility, as that of Calcutta is for an excess of vegetation. There is also comparatively little trade, from the difficulty of landing, and the impossibility of constructing a harbour. The roads are much better, however, and there are some navigable canals. The population of the town and the district immediately round it, is probably not much less than half a million; but there is not the same appearance of an European town as at Calcutta. Contrary to what is the case there, many of the places of business are in the fort; and the dwellings of Europeans are a little way in the interior. The Madras Presidency has been greatly improved under the sway of the Company, and though the immediate neighbourhood of the town be rather sterile, and provisions higher than in Calcutta, in consequence of the greater distance from which they have to be fetched, the importation of rice from Bengal, which used to be a regular and pretty extensive trade, has become almost unnecessary. When, indeed, the condition of this presidency now, is com-

pared with that in which it was found by the servants of the Company, we must allow that they have been great benefactors to this part of India. What may have been the state of the country before the inroads of the Mahomedans, and the wars and devastations of Hyder, Tippoo, the Nizam, and the Maharattas, we have not now the means of ascertaining; but there are sufficient grounds for believing that it was much better than when the British influence was first established; and also that the present state of at least a very considerable part of it, is better than it would have been, had the Mahomedan power continued in the Mysore, and that of the Maharattas in the south-west of the Deccan. The system in this part of India, appears to be more favourable to the cultivator than that which obtains in Bengal, probably because there were not so many spoilers as there were under the emperors, especially in the wane of their power. Less prolonged violence had been done to the manners of the Hindûs than in the northern countries; on which account, probably, their morals were better, and when they found that they were freed from hostile armies, they returned with more alacrity to the cultivation of their fields.

There is another circumstance. In order that

the government of Southern India may be able to get a revenue, it must do more for the people than is required in Bengal. The watering by courses and tanks must be on so large a scale that it can be done only by the government; and thus, as all profit by those accommodations—and in the low country there is no cultivation without them—there is a sort of reciprocity produced which must be beneficial. Probably also the tenures of the land have been less changed from their primitive form than in the north; and the recent reduction of the number of zillah or district courts has given the head men of the villages more importance. At the same time, the establishment of our government has had the effect of putting an end to a very general system of small hostility, which the heads of the villages, while they had armed followers and fortified residences, used to carry on against each other; and which, as they were not powerful enough for being independent, and yet not disposed to remain in subjection when not compelled to do so by the immediate presence of a military force, had the most injurious effects upon the habits and industry of the people.

The territory of the Madras Presidency is very irregular; but, perhaps, it does not, taken altogether, differ much from a square, four hun-

dred miles in the side. It is thus equal to a large kingdom; and the population is probably about fourteen millions.

The appearance of Madras, when seen from a distance, is rather imposing. The walls of the fort, and the buildings that are seen, are white and shining, and they are interspersed with trees. The fort is strong, and though not nearly so large as Fort William at Calcutta, it can be defended at much less expense; and probably would stand a siege as long. The Black Town, which contains the native, of course the principal population, is mean; but the garden houses are very neat, and better adapted to the climate than the palaces of Calcutta.

They are generally only one story in height, finely smoothed over with pure white lime, and embowered among trees and bushes, which gives them a cool appearance. The obtaining of that shelter has, however, been a work of great labour, and in the dry season they are not preserved without difficulty. The roads, too, are, in many places shaded by trees, and the choultries, or resting houses, are convenient. Vegetation only appears, however, in the vicinity of water, and great part of the surface is brown and arid. The water is of good quality, and the town well supplied.

As the Europeans chiefly reside in the garden-houses, and not in the town, the habits of the people are a little different from those at Calcutta. In the early part of the morning, there is a general system of calls by those who are going to the fort. That is over by about eleven; and then the idle people gossip till two, when the tiffin is eaten; and after that a good many indulge in the siesta. After the business people have returned, there is a general drive along the Mount Road, where they are fond of showing off their equipages, and generally drive so slowly, that they keep conversing together the greater part of the time. This is continued till dusk, after which they retire to dinner. This scattered mode of living gives employment to a great number of pedlars, who hawk articles about from house to house; and jugglers are more numerous, and also more expert, about Madras than in any other part of India. The want of a landing-place from the sea is, however, a disadvantage, for which there is no compensation.

The government house, the church of St. George, and some of the other public buildings, are very handsome. These are mostly upon the Choultry plain, where they have the advantage of the breeze from the sea. Even there, however, the air is often excessively hot; and

the rooms not fit for being inhabited, unless mats of cusa grass, kept moist, be placed over the windows. These have two advantages: the evaporation from them keeps the air agreeably cool, and the grass diffuses an agreeable scent.

Bombay is very different from both the capitals of the other presidencies; and though it is situated upon a rocky island, the ground upon which it immediately stands is a swamp. All the islands, which enclose, or are contained in, the harbour, appear indeed to have originally consisted of masses of rock, with the hollows between them filled up with mud, over which the sea partially flowed during high tides. A considerable part of the town is as low as the high water of spring tides, if not lower; and much of the soil would be washed away by the inundations during the rains, were it not protected by embankments. These occasion the stagnation of a great deal of water, and, notwithstanding the sea air, occasion a great deal of unhealthiness. The parts of the island that are covered with soil, were originally forests of cocoa-palms, and there is still a considerable number of these; but much of it has been cleared, and though not very productive, is under culture. Many of the houses within the walls are constructed of wood, the ground (which is rather singular in a fortified

place) is often private property, and sells or lets very high.

As is the case at Madras, the greater part of the British live in country houses, and repair to the fort only to transact their business. The government house within the fort is a very dull and gloomy structure; but there are two pleasant country residences. One of these is at Malabar Point, about eight miles from the town, and so near the sea, that the spray beats over it. This is holy ground—at least there is a hole in the rock, to which numbers of Hindû pilgrims resort, and by creeping through, contrive to leave their sins at the side by which they enter. The Brahmins, as is usual at holy places, assisting in the pious work, and being paid for it. The governor generally resides at that place during the very hot season. The other and principal residence is near the eastern shore of the island.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Bombay, of which there are probably about one hundred and sixty thousand permanent, and sixty thousand more that resort to it occasionally, are Hindûs: but the population is much mixed; and a good deal of the property and trade of the town and island, are in the hands of the Parsees, or fire worshippers, whom the

Mahomedans expelled from Persia. Those people have complete management of the docks and ship-building, and, indeed, there are few houses of business in the place that have not, at least, one Parsee partner, and they may be considered as the leading people of Bombay. The men are much stronger and more handsome than the Hindûs; but the women, though handsome when very young, very soon acquire a harsh, masculine appearance. The Parsees are a very industrious and peaceable people; but their habits and houses are not very cleanly. Of course they have no distinction of caste—neither have they any regulations in their religion which restrain them in eating and drinking Their worship is simple,—an adoration of the sun in the mornings and evenings. The Mahomedans are still more numerous in Bombay than the Parsees, and there are a good many Armenians and native Christians.

Though the island does not afford a plentiful supply, the markets of Bombay are better stocked with provisions than those of Madras. The quantity of shipping, and the trade carried on, are very considerable, Bombay being both a mart for foreign commerce, and an entrepôt between the different parts of India.

Owing to the swampy nature of the low grounds, the island is not nearly so healthy as

one would suppose; and though not quite so much oppressed by the heat, European constitutions suffer fully as much from the climate as at any of the other presidencies. The land breeze, which sets in in the evening, the time at which Calcutta and Madras are most agreeable, is very unfavourable to health.

To convey an idea of the towns of India, in the compass of a few pages, would, however, be impossible. They have no general character; and the capitals of the presidencies have not what can be strictly called an Indian character at all. They have grown up under the auspices of Europeans. As little have they a European character; for the population of all of them is so great, and the number of Europeans so few, that the places are English only in so far as they are official.

The most renowned, and probably also the most populous and wealthy, of the native cities, is Benares, the population of which is more than half a million, and some of the mansions so spacious as to contain two hundred people under a single roof. The city stands immediately upon the bank of the sacred Ganges, where that river has cut a concavity into a high bank on the one side, and deposited a meadow on the other; the houses stand on the top of the bank, which is fully thirty feet above the river, to

which ghauts, or flights of stone steps, descend, interspersed by nullahs, or creeks, in which boats are drawn up. The houses in Benares are generally built of stone; often four or five floors in height; and, as is the case in the towns of Scotland, having each floor occupied by a different family. The streets are, however, very narrow and crooked, and from the upper windows the people may almost shake hands across the street. Yet Benares is one of the most flourishing places in India; and the district around it is very rich and productive.

Benares is a place of more than ordinary sanctity, and stands upon a more stable foundation, according to the Hindû cosmogony, than any other part of the world. The rest of the globe stands only on Ananta, the thousand-headed serpent of eternity; but the holy city of Benares, with ten miles round it, is based upon the points of Siva's trident; and, therefore, proof against not local earthquakes merely, but even against the general casualties of the globe. Visiting such a place must, of course, be most efficient against sin; and dying there is, in some respects, more advantageous than at Juggernauth itself. In spite of his love of beef, an Englishman who dies at Benares, and bequeaths any thing to the temples, may make quite sure of the Swerga, and have a fair chance

of being absorbed into Brahm, without the peril of one reptile transmigration.

The Brahmins of Benares have more information and liberality than are usually found among the race; and there are many very wealthy people in the city, as well those who prefer living there upon their fortunes, as those who are engaged in trade. There are three sets of devotees exceedingly abundant: the Brahminny bulls, sacred to Siva, which are very fat and lazy; apes and monkeys, devoted to the valorous Humaioon; and ascetics and mendicants in great abundance. Still there is a great deal of magnificence about the city; and, perhaps, there are more appearances of an approximation to a harmony of feeling with the English about Benares than in other parts of India. The case is one in which, however, it is by no means safe to trust to appearances; and it is as impossible to form a proper estimate of India by looking at it with English eyes, as it would be to make it a happy or flourishing country by governing it by English laws.

CHAPTER XI.

RENEWAL OF THE CHARTER.

SINCE the first appearance of these volumes, there is little to add to the eventful history of India. That time has been, for India, one of comparative repose; and it has been more remarkable, for the diffusion over Europe of the results of those enquiries which have latterly been made into Indian geography and Natural History, than for any thing of a political nature.

In a political point of view, however, and regarding India in that light in which the best interests and the best feelings of human nature, require that it should be viewed, the tranquil years which India has enjoyed are of the

utmost importance. It was only by the final subjugation of the Maharattas and the Pindarees, that the English power—that is, the power of the Company—could be considered as fairly consolidated over the whole of India; and it was only by the condign chastisement of the Burmese, that that power could be considered as safe from external annoyance. Thus it has been only during those years that the British power in India has been established, independent, and capable of exerting itself for the benefit of the extensive territory and the thronging population of the Indian empire.

Those years, too, have been years of general tranquillity over the world, and in them the commercial interests of nations have had more free play than at, probably, any former period of human history. This, again, though it has, to a considerable extent, affected the Company's trade as a monopoly, has had very wholesome effects upon the general state of India, as well as upon the attitude in which the British ascendancy there stands among the nations of the civilized world.

As long as India had to be kept by the sword, so long was it impossible that the English power there could study the characters, know the wishes, and win the hearts of the people; and as long as it was believed among the other

nations of the western world, that Britain held India in chains, and under the terror of the sword, and derived from so holding India an emolument that amply repaid all the expense, all the danger, all the loss of health, and all the implied disgrace of such a mode of holding, so long must a desire to invade India have mingled with, and formed a considerable part of, every project of hostility to the British interests, in whatever part of the world it may have had its more immediate locality.

The more correct notions which the years of general peace have afforded to the British public, and to the world generally, have therefore been of the greatest utility. They have shown that the government of India is no sinecure, and that it can never be made a matter of revenue to any power not resident in India, how much better soever it may be for the country to take the tone of its general politics from something external, divided as the natives of India still are, into septs and parties, which have been in constant conflict since the most early periods of history, and which would be in constant conflict still, were it not for the wholesome operation of external restraint.

The wars of the Company have been long, they have been extensive, and they have been bloody, but as it is not possible to undo the

evils of war after they once have happened, the wisest course is to improve the good that arises out of the evil; for great as the evil of war is, it is one out of which greater good can be made to arise, than out of any other evil whatever. The condition of Europe, more especially of those parts of it that were formerly in the most backward state, since the close of the general war in 1815, is proof of the general position, that good may arise out of war; and in the case of India the proof is far more clear. The great advantages that result from a general conflict, and they are great in proportion as the conflict is general and obstinate, are the sinking of little jealousies, and the acquiring of extended and valuable information. The corruption of the village officers, and the squabbles of the village, make far more serious inroads upon the comforts, and give much more interruption to the business of the villagers, than the corruptions of ministers and the wars of nations; and if it be true that the people of India have purchased under the British Government a deliverance from those internal squabbles which, from the days of Sesostris to the close of the Pindaree war, made India "any body's conquest," then no price was too high to be paid for it; and could the people of India be fairly made to see, that any government had done that for

them, without any of the degrading and grinding exactions which were made by their former rulers, there is no question that they would be to that government the most loyal and devoted subjects in the world. On the other hand, it is just as clear that the withdrawal of such a government would be the heaviest curse that could be inflicted upon India.

It is the other advantages of war that give to the one now mentioned the most valuable portion of its effect. Knowledge is necessarily the foundation of every thing that deserves the name of government; and whatever may be its dispositions, a government can promote the good of its subjects only in proportion as it knows their condition. That is a proposition which every thing tends to prove, and therefore no proof of it need be mentioned. Now the whole tenor of the narrative part of this little work, and indeed of every thing candidly and honestly written on the state of India, establishes the fact, that that kind of information was more wanted respecting India, than respecting any country whatever; and also, that in their wars and marches, the English were in a state to acquire, and actually acquired, more knowledge of that country, than ever any other race of people did of any country in an equal time. Many circumstances conduced to that

effect. The humblest British leader employed in India, and even the humblest English follower of that leader, must be worth sending twenty thousand miles; the country that he lands in is new to him; and therefore he is an observer, and a rememberer of what he observes, almost in spite of himself.

It is this knowledge, this accumulated knowledge, with the successive stimuli to the farther accumulation, as old residents return and young residents go out to supply their place, which forms the groundwork of the strong plea in favour of the British system of government in India. The mode in which that knowledge has hitherto worked in India, must not be too rigidly criticised; because its perfection, if yet attained, is only as it were a matter of yesterday; and therefore the experience, even of those who are resident in India, is rather too short for enabling them to form a sound and conclusive judgment upon it. If this be the case, as it unquestionably is the case with those resident in India, who have the working of the system immediately under their personal inspection, much more must it be the case with the great mass of the British people at home, whose information respecting India is hearsay and vague, and very often obtained from doubtful sources.

The necessity of great caution, as to the in-

fluence that floating opinions at home should be allowed to have upon the settlement of Indian affairs, becomes the more apparent the more we consider the inapplicability of those opinions to the system of things at home,—a system which people have the means of knowing; and, if they do not know that, it proves pretty clearly that they ought not to venture an opinion upon any political question whatever. The welfare of masses of people is a very grave consideration, and it accords with daily experience to say, that they who talk the loudest about it understand the least. The men who have been systematic railers against all administrations, whatever may be the number of "simple persons" that echo their objurgations, are but too generally, nay, indeed, almost universally, the veriest bunglers in political action, if the chances so turn round as that they have it to perform. Now, if such be the case in that very matter in which such parties appear more immediately to have schooled themselves, and of which they have made a regular trade, much more must it be the case in matters of even greater difficulty, where they have not had the means of information. That circumstance alone should render the question of India, one upon which the British public, and British statesmen as such, whatever knowledge they may

arrogate to themselves, or even actually possess, should enter with the utmost caution, and in the coolest temper of mind.

There are other reasons for the exercise of this caution, and these are the facilities with which transactions so remote as those of India may be misrepresented, and the motives which parties may have to misrepresent them. There are many reasons why the British Government in India, even if it were the best of imaginable governments, should not have, more especially, in the eyes of Britons, whether resident in India or not, the same moral strength as the government of the country at home. It is a government by delegation—a sort of deputy sway; and though the deputy may be, and very often is, the more efficient and valuable man of the two, we never give him the same credit as we give to the principal. Consequently, we may expect that complaints will be made against the delegated government of India on much slighter foundations than any which are made against the original government of England.

Besides, there are circumstances that may operate to place the turbulent part of the English in India in opposition to the government there, which do not operate to a similar purpose at home. Those who go to India, go

with the express intention of making their fortunes; they often go with hopes unnaturally raised; they are consequently often disappointed; and as a man will never lay the burden of his disappointment on his own shoulders, so long as he can find any other shoulders on which to lay it, the failure of extravagant hopes of fortune in India is often employed as a means of attacking the government there. Till very lately, and probably even now, attacks of that kind are peculiarly dangerous in India; because up to a very recent period, and probably still, such circumstances were in danger of influencing, and alienating from the government, a great part of the population. In proportion as these things are more dangerous to public tranquillity, it becomes necessary to restrain them by more severe and summary punishments, inasmuch as governments ought not to proceed upon any abstract or metaphysical theories of crime, but upon the practical injury that the conduct of individuals may be calculated to do to the tranquillity, and consequent happiness, of the whole. The loudest complaints that have been made against the British Government in India, by those who have had even the fact of residence in that country as a claim to being believed, have been by disappointed servants of the Company, or persons sent home

on account of notorious agitations. Now, if the opinions of the ignorant be worth little on such a question—if they be, as they are, perfectly useless, the opinions of the disappointed and the irritated, are absolutely worse than useless, as they must do harm, and cannot by possibility do good. They excite passion, and sow prejudice, while they leave ignorance as thick and palpable as ever.

Persons of the description alluded to very generally neutralize, in the estimation of sensible people, the mischief they intend, by the other matters which they fortunately, though not intentionally, mix up with it; and in this way some of the crusades which have been preached up in England, apparently with a view of poisoning the public mind, before the legislature comes to consider the renewal of the Company's charter, have been nullified to all persons of sense by the other schemes of the preachers, though, unfortunately, there are always abundance of people weak enough for being misled by any rumour, however unfounded, so that there is but loudness and impudence enough in setting it forth. On this account, it is peculiarly fortunate that there has been a short period of genial tranquillity in India, previous to the impending debates on the renewal of the Company's charter.

Whatever may be the opinions of speculative politicians upon the subject, there can be no doubt that the condition of the inhabitants of India has been greatly improved in those years that have elapsed since the conclusion of the war; and—looking at the actual effect of the Company's system during those years,—comparing that with any other system, of the operation of which in India we have any knowledge, —and considering how different the feelings of the Indian people are from any people among whom European systems have been tried—to say nothing of the hypothetical ones,—it is not too much to say, that any great change at the present time would be exceedingly unwise. What particular arrangement there may be between the Company and that portion of the general government which is usually understood to be to a great extent their masters, is a matter of detail rather than of principle; but certainly a change of the whole system, or even of any great portion of it, would be perilling the happiness of that immense population which it has now become the duty of this country to guide on to a higher degree of civilization, by those gradual steps, by which alone a change of that nature can be effected.

To the present management, whether that of the Company or otherwise, any great alteration

would be palpably unjust. They have fought the battle; they have borne the hardship; they have put down the internal factions; they have shown that under them the Hindûs are no longer the easy victims of foreign conquest that they once were; they have, in short, given the country some of the best means and securities for future improvement, by giving it peace and preparing it for union and enlightened knowledge; and as they have done so, it would be highly unjust for any party which had had no share in the obtaining of the good, to step in and claim the whole, or even a portion of the merit. Toward India it would be unjust, because it would again expose that country to those horrors from which it is now enjoying the only thing like settled freedom that it has had for centuries. It may be that the system of *dacoitship*, and some of the other evils that arose out of the unsettled condition of the country, are not yet removed; and it may be that their complete eradication will take years of the most careful government; but it is beyond a doubt, that, in proportion as the rule of the Company has become free from apprehension, it has become liberal; and that, whenever it has been enabled to cease from contending with the sword of the native, its efforts have been directed to the rendering of the labours of his ploughshare more productive,

and all his exertions more conducive to his personal comfort and his elevation in the scale of human beings. That, whatever may be the matter of disputation, is the practical test of the good of governments; and taking the late years, which are the only ones of fair trial, it is extremely probable that the Company's government of India would abide that test better than some other governments of more sounding name and more lofty pretensions. Real governments are active, not speculative machines; and their value depends on what they do, and not on what can be said about them.

There is still another consideration. Supposing that the present system were put an end to, and the present rulers laid on the shelf, what and who are to come in their stead? The system, we shall suppose, is to be altered. Then how shall we know what to substitute for it? The advocate of alteration will naturally reply, "Something that is better adapted to the condition of the Indian population." Be it so. Then comes the question, "What is to be better for that population, and who is to find it out?" The persons who are best able, either themselves to apply a system to the population of India, or to tell others what should be best for that purpose, are, without doubt, they who know most about the population of India. It

has been already said, and no one who reflects calmly on the matter will even attempt to deny the truth of it, that the arguments which are made use of in the mere debating of politics in Europe, ought to be put aside as wholly inapplicable to the case of India; and that that case ought to be worked out entirely upon its own facts. Now if the Company, and their servants resident in India, are withdrawn, who else are in possession of those facts? These are the only parties who possess the requisite knowledge of India, if we except the discontented persons, and the little knowledge that they have is warped and rendered useless by their prejudices. Now, to suppose that they would give up the management of India, and at the same time communicate their knowledge to their successors, would be assuming a degree of accommodation in human nature, which never did, and which never should belong to it. Even if that were possible, it would be unwise, as there would be both loss of time and uncertainty about it. It would sound a little strangely, if, when a workman were called upon to perform immediately any piece of labour, he should, instead of going instantly about it, desire the parties to wait until he had found out and schooled an apprentice to do it in his stead. As applied to the common matters of life, the

absurdity of such a mode of proceeding is apparent at once, and yet it is an exactly parallel case to that which has many advocates, as applied to India, though the case of India be one in which such an application would be far more absurd, and incalculably more dangerous, than in any individual instance that could be cited. To leave a hundred and twenty millions of human beings without government and without laws, till their present governors should impart to another set of men, ignorant of the very nature, the desires, and the wants of those people, the knowledge necessary for framing a new system, would be about the maddest scheme that ever distempered imagination framed; and if any one were to propose it simply, in as many words, he would be reckoned fitter for Bedlam than for the very humblest species of idle political speechification. It is singular to what extent even persons who give themselves some credit for intelligence may be imposed on by the mere mystification of words; for that which has so often been proposed for India, becomes, when freed from rhetorical flourishes, almost exactly that which has been stated. So much for the mode of considering the general merits of the East India question. There remain two other considerations of a general nature: the

making of the question a British one, and the question of time.

The first of these, though it will probably be in a popular point of view the most obstinate, is of comparatively minor importance; there is but one straight-forward way of dealing with it, and that is studiously to avoid making the question of India a British question at all. If India is to be well and permanently governed by any system, there is quite enough in India itself to occupy that system; and to suppose that it can be made any way advantageous to the country at home in any other way than by a fair and reciprocal connexion and intercourse between the two countries, is a mere delusion, to entertain which would be to embarrass and fetter the proper subject of consideration. The state of India is such, that, at least in those parts where war has been most recently and most destructively carried on, it has more need of something laid out upon it than of any thing exacted from it. It has never yielded any revenue to strangers, other than the revenue of plunder and spoliation; and though, as is the case with other large countries, the richer parts of it may afford something in aid of the poorer; yet if, taken as a whole, it pays for its own government, that is all which can rationally be

expected from it—all that it can by possibility afford.

The notion that in an intercourse between any two countries, one of those countries shall derive all the advantage, or at least so much advantage more than the other, as that both a commercial profit and a direct revenue shall arise from it, was once very general. But its being general did not give it any better foundation than other general errors; and, accordingly, it is now exploded among all persons of intelligence. Not only so, but it seems astonishing why it should ever have been acted upon to any extent, far less to the almost universal extent to which it was once acted on by the nations of modern Europe in their intercourse with the people across the broad seas.

It is quite clear, that if an undue profit,—that is, a profit for which no equivalent is given,—be obtained from any people, that people must thereby be impoverished; and they must soon resist, and put an end to the intercourse, unless compelled to submit to it by the strong hand of power. Thus, the idea of getting any thing more than a fair commercial return from any country, is either absurd, or involves in it the immediate impoverishment and the certain ruin of that country.

In a fair national intercourse, the advantage

ought always to be, and with perfect fairness always will be, greatest to that people who are in the lowest state of civilization; and the only way in which the advantage can be brought nearly to an equality, is by bringing the two nations to nearly the same state of improvement.

This is clearly the principle upon which the British power in India should be viewed; and the only persons to apply that principle properly to the case, are they who are acquainted, intimately and personally, with the feelings and habits of the Hindûs. The burgesses, the knights of the shires, and the lords temporal and spiritual of Britain, as such, are just as ill qualified for regulating the details of Indian government, as the *toties*, and *curnums*, and *potails* of a Hindû village, or the nabobs of Hindû provinces, would be to settle the details of English government; and the one class of persons as well as the other have quite enough to do in their own country. It would be easy to argue this branch of the subject at much greater length; but the impolicy and absurdity of making the question a British one, are so obvious, that they must occur to every one capable of taking an accurate and dispassionate view of the matter.

The case of Ireland is far from a bad one, to

cite as matter of meditation for those who fancy they have nothing more to do than frame a plausible theory, make long speeches about it; and forthwith, India shall have the best of all possible governments. In the course of the last half century, there have been many panaceas propounded, each of which was to make Ireland perfectly tranquil and happy. The measure of Catholic Emancipation, was, above all others, to do that; and that measure was accordingly dressed up like a very Juggernauth, below the wheels of whose car any thing else would be ennobled by being destroyed. That measure has passed; but how stands it with the tranquillity? Is Ireland less turbulent than ever?—Truly not. It is at this moment in a state of greater agitation, and stands as much in need of the fetter of martial law as ever; nor is any one warranted in saying that any measure, proceeding upon the established principles of English legislation, could make it one jot the better. Every one who has a project, will, no doubt, say that his project is the very thing wanted; but mere assertion is but a feeble instrument to bring against positive experience. Now, if British legislators, proceeding upon British principles, and drudging day after day and year after year, have not been able to effect any thing for the amelioration

and improvement of the Irish people, how can they presume that any such means or measures can be wholesome for the population of India? Ireland is at the door; and a journey of observation through it may be made in one vacation of Parliament: India is twenty thousand miles off, and no man could intimately examine the whole of it in a life-time.

The question of time is one that demands some consideration, inasmuch as India may be said to be at this moment under experiment by the Company's government, and under experiment of such a nature, that even the past history of India throws not much light upon the result. It would be unfair to reason respecting a time of tranquillity from the events of times of war and disturbance; and the period since the conclusion of those wars is too short for affording the requisite data for a final decision. So far as it goes, it must be admitted to be upon the whole favourable; and it is doubtful whether at any time of the long history of the country, the condition of the great body of the people was any thing like so comfortable as it is at present. The progress of improvement in so extensive a country, and where the population has been stationary for thousands of years, must necessarily be slow, and cannot be very greatly accelerated by any means that are ap-

plicable. When it is considered how slow the progress of improvement is among some classes of persons in England, and how stubborn the established habits of the people are in some other parts of the empire, it is not to be wondered at, that when the people to be improved are five times the number, and those who take upon themselves the office of improvers not one thousandth, the slow progress of Indian improvement must cease to be in any way matter of wonder. That there is a progress, is, however, established by the concurring testimony of all the accounts; and the very fact of the existence of such a progress, under the sway of the Company, is a proof that it is owing to the Company. It is they who afforded that tranquillity and that security, without which there can be no improvement of any kind; it is they who have established communications between the different parts of the country, so that each may supply others with those things which it can supply the cheapest; it is they who have thus laid a foundation for making the many thousands of India gradually one people; and, therefore, to change the system, even in many of its details, would, in the mean time, be hazardous; and to alter it altogether, would be periling the welfare of vast multitudes, for

the gratification of the mere whims of those who know very little of the matter.

The only part of the existing system which can rationally admit of revisal by the politicians of Britain, is that which relates to commerce; and even that would require to be altered with extreme caution, if altered at all. The history of commercial legislation at home is full of pretty strong proofs of the fact, that governments, even when on the spot, and having access to the proper sources of information, generally show more wisdom, and promote the interests of trade better, when they abolish regulations, than when they make new ones; and as the commercial regulations of the Company, whatever may be the theoretical objections to them, have been framed with some knowledge of the spirit and temper of eastern nations, it is very probable that they are better than any which could be framed, by even the most disinterested and intelligent of those who have not the local information.

The trade to China may now be considered as almost the only exclusive branch that remains to the Company; and the trade with China is, from the peculiar character, strong jealousy, and decisive manner of the Chinese authorities, a very ticklish matter, and difficult

to manage even by those who are on the spot. It is a matter also, upon which it is exceedingly difficult to get correct information; and, perhaps, the only Britons who are in possession of any thing approaching to that kind of information, are the servants of the Company, who could not be expected to furnish that information for the purpose of overthrowing the establishment upon which they depend.

Thus, the safest general conclusion at which it is possible to arrive is, that the Charter of the Company should be renewed, for some time at least, with as few changes as possible. By that means, the effect of a general British government of the country, during a period of peace and presumed improvement, would be seen; the knowledge of India would be extending every day; and, if an alteration should subsequently appear to be necessary, that alteration would be made in future with as great a probability of doing good, as it certainly would have of doing mischief in the mean time.

THE END.

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